

Translators in the making: the work of David Hawkes in the making of the Hawkes-Minford translation of *The Story of the Stone*, with special reference to Hawkes' *Translator's Notebooks*

Christina Chau

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College of Asia & the Pacific


The Australian National University

Candidate's Declaration

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university. To the best of the author's knowledge, it contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text.



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Abstract

This empirical study looks at translators at work, examines how accomplished translators become who they are, and studies the intricate scholarly process involved in the making of *The Story of the Stone*, the Hawkes-Minford translation of *Honglouloumeng*.

The focus of this study is *The Story of the Stone: A Translator's Notebooks*, informal working journals kept by Hawkes during ten years' work in the making of *The Story of the Stone*. This is supplemented by various primary source materials (e.g. correspondence between Hawkes and Minford, drafts, etc.) which were in the custody of Minford as Hawkes' literary executor, and have been deposited in the Hawkes archive at the Chinese University of Hong Kong Library.

Chapter 1 provides the context for our understanding of the making of *The Story of the Stone*, including brief biographies of the two translators, the inception of their collaboration, and the establishment of the Translator's Archive which provides so much valuable insight into their work.

The Story of the Stone: A Translator's Notebooks chronicle in detail Hawkes' concerns, insights and sources consulted, and so enables researchers to revisit his translation process. The path involved him in many detours into various classics of Chinese literature, and a wide range of sinological works in English, Chinese, Japanese, French, and Latin, etc. One can thus compile a bibliography illustrating the encyclopedic scope of his work on *Honglouloumeng*. This is examined in Chapter 2, the longest by far of the four chapters, which shows how Hawkes himself, an invisible bibliographer, benefited from his multilingualism and broad scholarship. Informed by his rigorous research and resourcefulness, he embedded into his translation incorporated footnotes (explanations of cultural, historical, and literary background, etc., as necessary) to make his translation intelligible to the English readers.

The textual history of *Honglouloumeng* is extraordinarily complex. *The Story of the Stone: A Translator's Notebooks* documents Hawkes' editorial choices among the variant texts of the novel, and his meticulous emendations. So, Chapter 3 shows the intricate details of how Hawkes, in effect, created his own version of the Chinese text in order to produce the best possible English translation.

Chapter 4 consolidates the findings from previous chapters to identify the achievements of the translation, *The Story of the Stone*, providing valuable insight into the translators' art, which has enabled *The Story of the Stone* to become a contribution to world literature in its own right, worthy of the original Chinese literary masterpiece.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my gratitude to my inspiring teacher, Professor John Minford, without whom my research would not have materialized. Fond memories abound, including in particular, the unusual enlightening experience at Professor Minford's retreat in France, which is unforgettable. I remember vividly our first encounter at the Hong Kong Polytechnic University, and meetings at the Chinese University of Hong Kong while Professor Minford, as Hawkes' literary executor, was preparing for the donation of the Hawkes Papers to the University Library. It has been an eye-opening experience viewing Hawkes' working notes, drafts, manuscripts and various artifacts, and in particular, the lengthy correspondence between Professor Hawkes and Professor Minford, while at the same time listening to Professor Minford's account of their collaboration, which was sometimes very moving. I have been privileged to be able to benefit from Professor Minford's first-hand knowledge of the raw materials. As one of the two translators, he himself has been a most valuable primary source for my studies. While the bulk of examples are taken from the Hawkes translation of the first eighty chapters of the novel, it is Professor Minford's explications that have often provided the key to an understanding of those examples.

Furthermore, I am grateful for all the support I have received during my studies from my librarian friends who provided both practical assistance and encouragement. I am particularly indebted to my former colleague, H.C. Li, who not only provided assistance in accessing materials, but was crucial in leading me to undertake this research in the first place. I am also indebted to Dr. Grace Cheng who has been so supportive throughout the process, among many others who offered much generous assistance in enabling access to the wide variety of bibliographic materials. I must also thank Dr. John Whelpton's advice in presenting my ideas and thoughts on academic style, and my technical friends who diligently did the tedious work of ensuring my documents were professionally presented.

Preface

This study is concerned with *The Story of the Stone*, the Hawkes-Minford translation of *Honglouloumeng*. The two titles are abbreviated throughout the thesis, as *Stone* and *HLM* respectively. Abbreviations of specific editions of *Honglouloumeng* are indicated in the table on the next page.

In this study, the pagination given for the Chinese text of *Honglouloumeng* is, unless specified, based on the 1964 edition published by Renmin Press, and that of the English text is based on the Penguin Classics edition of *The Story of the Stone*.

The Story of the Stone: A Translator's Notebooks

The notes which Hawkes made during a substantial part of the translation process were published in facsimile by Lingnan University in Hong Kong in 2000 under the title, *The Story of the Stone: A Translator's Notebooks* (abbreviated as *Notebooks*). The pagination for this frequently cited work will be shown with a prefix, NB, followed by page number, for example, p.25 of the *Notebooks* will be represented as NB25.

Examples of Hawkes' methods taken from the *Notebooks* are given in Chapter 2 (Hawkes' use of reference sources) and Chapter 3 (Hawkes' approach to textual variation). There are cases in which examples of one category contain elements of another. For example, an illustration of reference sources may contain some elements of textual variation, and vice versa. Professor Hawkes and Professor Minford, who are frequently mentioned, will be referred to as 'Hawkes' and 'Minford' throughout the thesis.

The examples in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 are organized in the order of the entries in the *Notebooks*, with the exception of certain instances which would naturally go together, as in the cases of, e.g. players, with relevant entries on NB19, NB74, NB99-100, NB105, and NB203. (see Section 2.3.1 to 2.3.5)

Each of the examples from the *Notebooks* is listed in the Table of Contents with the heading in English and Chinese plus the date recorded by Hawkes in the format: weekday, day, month, year, followed by the page number. Hawkes almost always specifies the weekdays. He sometimes writes the weekdays and months in full. In the study, the standard abbreviations are used throughout, as in the following example:

Blue and Green: Thousand League Eye 千里眼 (Thur 4 Apr 1974) (NB140)

In the discussion in Chapters 2 and 3, Hawkes' quotations in the *Notebooks* are frequently reproduced to illustrate his working method. If the distinction is not made clear by quotation marks, the quotations are distinguished from my own comments by the use of labels, CC (my comment) and DH (Hawkes' comment) respectively.

Frequently cited titles

In addition to the *Notebooks* and the *Stone* as mentioned above, the discussion involves a great deal of reference to the various editions of *Honglouloumeng*. These frequently cited titles are abbreviated as follows:

Abbreviation	Title
<i>Stone</i>	Cao Xueqin 曹雪芹 and Gao E 高鶚. <i>The Story of the Stone</i> . Vols. 1-3 translated by David Hawkes, Vols. 4-5 translated by John Minford. (Penguin Classics). London: Penguin Books, 1973-1986; Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979-1987.
<i>Notebooks</i>	Hawkes, David. <i>The Story of the Stone: A Translator's Notebooks</i> . Hong Kong: Centre for Literature and Translation, Lingnan University, 2000.
Renmin	Cao Xueqin 曹雪芹 and Gao E 高鶚. <i>Honglouloumeng</i> 紅樓夢. Beijing: Renmin wenxue, 1964. 4 vols.
Gengchen	Cao Xueqin 曹雪芹. <i>Zhiyanzhai chongping Shitouji Gengchenben</i> 脂硯齋重評石頭記庚辰本. Tianjin: Tianjin guji, 2013. 4 vols.
Qianchao	Cao Xueqin 曹雪芹 and Gao E 高鶚. <i>Qianlong chaoben bainianhui Honglouloumeng gao</i> 乾隆抄本百廿回紅樓夢稿. Beijing: Renmin wenxue, 2010. 3 vols.
YPB	Cao Xueqin 曹雪芹. <i>Honglouloumeng bashihui jiaoben</i> 紅樓夢八十回校本. Edited by Yu Pingbo 俞平伯. Beijing: Renmin wenxue, 1958. 4 vols.

Pagination

Pagination for *The Story of the Stone* and the various versions of *Hongloumeng* which this study covers are given in the format, editions (e.g. P for *Stone* (Penguin edition); R for Renmin edition of *HLM*), followed by volume, chapter and page number, as shown in the following case (e.g. Volume II, Chapter 32, p.385):

Edition	Page notation
<i>Stone</i>	P II, 32, 385
<i>HLM</i> (Renmin)	R II, 32, 385
<i>HLM</i> (Gengchen)	G, II, 32, 385
<i>HLM</i> (Qianchao)	Q, II, 32, 385
<i>HLM</i> (YPB)	Y, II, 32, 385

The CASGLIAD David Hawkes

Hawkes donated his own library of Chinese and Japanese materials to the National Library of Wales upon his retirement, and these form The CASGLIAD David Hawkes (David Hawkes Collection) (see Section 1.3.1). Some of these titles are mentioned in the *Notebooks*, and these will normally be marked in the thesis with the item number from the CASGLIAD printed catalogue (e.g. CASGLIAD-2990).

Figures

The discussion in this study is illustrated by a large number of figures. The figures will be numbered in a separate sequence for each chapter. For example, the fifth figure in Chapter 2 will be shown as Fig. 2-5.

Transcription

Traditional Chinese characters will be used throughout the thesis, except in the transcription of simplified Chinese used by Hawkes in the *Notebooks*.

Romanisation

The Hanyu-pinyin romanisation of Chinese characters has been adopted throughout for consistency, except in proper names where the person or institution concerned already have an established alternative romanisation of their own.

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1. Prelude to *The Story of the Stone*

1.1 Prologue: How it all started

Long ago in the mythical past, the goddess Nü-wa prepared 36,501 building blocks, and she used all of them except one single odd block. This abandoned stone, found unfit for repairing the sky, lamented its worthlessness, and went wandering at the foot of Greensickness Peak among the Incredible Craggs of the Great Fable Mountains. The Stone was attracted to a Crimson Pearl Flower near the Magic River and watered her daily with dew. As a result, she regained her strength and was changed into a fairy girl who was determined to repay the Stone with her own tears. The Stone and the Crimson Pearl Flower were then brought to earth to experience the World of Red Dust.

The Stone is then born into the world thanks to an eccentric Buddhist monk and a Taoist priest who take it down to earth to experience a journey to enlightenment. Jia Bao-yu, the boy who is born with a jade in his mouth, the sole heir of the aristocratic Jia family, is the Stone which the goddess Nü-wa thought unfit to repair the sky.

The Crimson Pearl Flower becomes Bao-yu's cousin, the ethereal Lin Dai-yu, who lives together with Bao-yu in the Jia Family after her mother dies. The tragic story of Bao-yu and Dai-yu and the former's journey to enlightenment form the main plot of the story.

This journey involves the inner transformation of Bao-yu as he undergoes love, disenchantment and finally enlightenment before renouncing the world to become a monk. Dai-yu is the incarnated Crimson Pearl Flower who has vowed to repay the Stone for his kindness, and her life involves the payment of this Debt of Tears. Their mythical pre-earth existence determines their earthly destinies and the tragedy they suffer.

This fantastic story, widely regarded as the greatest Chinese novel, was the work of Cao Xueqin (c.1715-63?), a Qing dynasty scholar, who devoted all his energies to its creation for 10 years, during which he produced 3 different revisions. However, he died leaving the book unfinished. His text was then edited, completed and published by Gao E in 1792.

Two hundred years later, David Hawkes and John Minford, two British scholars, produced a translation of the novel so masterly that they almost seem to be the re-incarnations of Cao Xueqin and Gao E.

Hawkes (b. 1923) and his student, Minford (b. 1946), are a generation apart. But they shared a great deal: both were British educated, both studied the classics, reading such parallel texts as the Loeb Classical Library in public schools, and then going on to Oxford. They were both talented linguists.

Standing on the shoulders of earlier sinologists like James Legge, Herbert Giles, and Arthur Waley, Hawkes and Minford succeeded in deciphering in a new language the secret message of Cao Xueqin. 「都云作者痴，誰解其中味？」 The combination of their linguistic talents and the legacy of their predecessors enabled them to fulfill the mission of recreating *HLM* as a masterpiece of world literature.

These two British gentlemen enjoyed their collaboration immensely and held lengthy discussions on the texts. They shared an enthusiasm for the novel and a determination to produce a translation worthy of the original masterpiece.

Although the two translated their sections independently, they saw each other's drafts throughout. These were also seen and commented on regularly by their wives, Jean Hawkes and Rachel Minford. The whole project was thus a family collaboration. Just as Cao Xueqin had been helped and advised by his own family and friends when he was producing the original novel.

1.2 The Translators

Hawkes and Minford, a former student who later became his son-in-law, started their collaboration in the 1970s, and took over 15 years to complete the project. Hawkes took responsibility for the first 80 chapters, and Minford for the last 40, generally regarded as a version by Gao E based on his editing of Cao's draft. The extent to which Gao E based his work on Cao Xueqin's is still a highly controversial subject. The translation came out in 5 volumes, with a separate sub-title for each, invented by the translators. Hawkes' three volumes are *The Golden Days* (1973), *The Crab-Flower Club* (1977), *The Warning Voice* (1980). The last two volumes translated by Minford are *The Debt of Tears* (1982) and *The Dreamer Wakes* (1986).

1.2.1 David Hawkes

Born in 1923 in East London, Hawkes¹ began the study of Latin at Bancroft's School, a minor Public School first founded in 1737. After studying the Classical Mods syllabus as a scholar at Christ Church College Oxford in 1942-43, he took up the study of Japanese during the Second World War, teaching code-breakers Japanese at the Bedford Inter-Services Intelligence Centre.

Hawkes then began the study of Chinese in his twenties when he returned to Oxford after the war (in 1945), an honours School of Chinese having just been set up under the ex-missionary

E.R. Hughes, focussing entirely on the classical language. Hawkes really wanted a more rounded knowledge of Chinese culture. After graduating in 1947, he decided to pursue further studies in China.

Hawkes became a postgraduate student at Peking University, Beida 北大 (formerly Guoli Beiping Daxue 國立北平大學) during the three years, 1948-1951. Returning to Oxford in 1951, he finished his doctoral thesis on the early Chinese anthology of poetry, *Chuci* 楚辭 (*The Songs of the South*). His translation of this work, subsequently published by Oxford University Press, was the first complete one in English. ^{2, 3}

His work as a young man impressed Arthur Waley, the eminent British sinologist and translator of the era, who became his mentor and friend, and also made Hawkes his literary executor.

Hawkes was Professor of Chinese in Oxford from 1959 to 1971, when he himself resigned to focus solely on *HLM*.

Hawkes fell in love with *HLM* at his first encounter with it. He read it in the original when he first arrived in China in 1948, thinking that it would help him to improve his spoken Chinese. He had been introduced to the novel by Qiu Ke'an ⁴, 裘克安 a Chinese fellow student at Oxford. When he attempted to read the first chapter, he found the style very strange and difficult. He realized Chinese people were constantly referring to it, he heard people talking a lot about the novel and decided he should read it. He bought his own copy of *HLM* in Beijing, and through William Empson and his wife, he found a retired Manchu civil servant to read it with him. Hawkes spent quite a lot of money on the lessons. They sat side by side and the Manchu teacher read it aloud and explained it as he went along.

The teacher had no English at all, and initially Hawkes didn't understand anything, but then, slowly, things began to make sense. Hawkes himself described this as a "direct method gone mad." ⁵

In Beijing, Hawkes became friendly with William and Hetta Empson, whose bohemian life-style had a substantial influence on his work as a creative translator. In "Mix them grain by grain: memories of William Empson and the sources of his 'Chinese Ballad' (*Times Literary Supplement* (13 February 2009), ⁶ his last published work, he recalled with pleasure his frequent visits to the Empson household.

Hawkes began to feel that the novel really deserved a full and accurate translation into English. For years he thought about doing this himself before agreeing in 1970 to undertake

the task for the well-known Penguin Classics series. He had already translated a small section as a student in Beijing. In 1949, he was invited with Luo Changpei 羅常培 to give a presentation at a society in the Embassy area. His inaugural Lecture⁷ as Professor of Chinese at the University of Oxford, delivered in 1961, also included a translated passage from the novel.

Hawkes was made a Senior Research Fellow of the prestigious All Souls College in 1977, which enabled him to survive financially while he completed his translation. In 1984, he and his wife Jean moved to Wales, where he began learning Welsh.

In addition to the translation of *HLM*, Hawkes also published other translations, including a study of the major works of the prominent Tang poet, Du Fu, entitled *A little Primer of Tu Fu*⁸ which he himself referred to as “Teach yourself Tu Fu”. This was published in 1967 by Oxford University Press (second edition, Renditions, the Research Centre for Translation, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1987). Hawkes was also a great enthusiast of Chinese drama, and published a translation of a Yuan Dynasty drama, *Liu Yi and the Dragon Princess: A Thirteenth-Century Zaju play* by Shang Zhongxian (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2003).⁹

Hawkes was also interested in the history of religion, producing a series of entertaining essays on this topic under the title, *Letters from a Godless Grandfather*.¹⁰ He wrote acerbically and very amusingly about what he saw as non-sensical religious dogma.

Although he was sometimes tormented by self-doubt, he was a man of outstanding ability and pre-eminence as a sinologist and translator. Minford, remembering his mentor, Hawkes, with great affection, once remarked that Hawkes’ 1966 tribute to Arthur Waley could be applied to Hawkes himself as well, “Greatness in men is a rare but unmistakable quality. In our small profession it is unlikely we shall see a man of such magnitude again.”^{11,12}

1.2.2 John Minford

Born in 1946 the second son of a British diplomat, Minford was a post-war baby boomer who spent his childhood in Venezuela, Argentina, Cairo, and Paris. He was exposed to a multi-lingual environment since childhood, starting with the Spanish he acquired in Venezuela.

Minford studied at Winchester College as a scholar from 1958-1963. At this ancient Public school (founded in 1382), his exposure to music and drama influenced him and in many ways prepared him for his future calling as a translator. As was normal in Public Schools at that time, Minford studied the Latin and Greek classics. The classics teacher, J.G. Stow, who taught him Homer, Theocritus, Cicero, Tacitus, etc. had a great influence on him. He won a

gold medal for his Latin verse translations. Inspired by his teacher, he became interested in translation from an early age.

Music has always been an important part of Minford's life. He started to play the piano in his childhood in Cairo. Minford later benefited from the excellent music department in Winchester College. Minford also sang in the choir throughout his 5 years in the College, and listened to readings from the King James Bible twice a day throughout this time. At the same time, his interest in dramatic performance was kindled. At the age of 15 or 16, he was given a chance to play the part of Thomas More in a stage production of the play 'A Man for all Seasons', by Robert Bolt.

After graduation from Winchester, Minford studied classical piano performance and improvisation with the concert pianist, Walter Kamper, in Vienna in 1963-64. As Minford put it, interpreting a piece of music is like the creative interpretation of a text. "The interpretation is entirely yours." During practice, his teacher used to close the score and ask him to improvise on his own before letting him return to Chopin's composition.

In 1964, Minford went up to Balliol College Oxford, where during the first two years he directed two plays, Oscar Wilde's 'Salome' in 1965, Peter Weiss's 'Marat-Sade' in the summer of 1966. This last production was on a large scale, involving over 50 people. In the autumn of 1966 he began studying Chinese and in 1967 he studied the first ten chapters of *HLM* with Hawkes.

Minford first heard about *HLM* when he came to Hong Kong to learn elementary spoken Chinese in late 1966. He lived with a Chinese family from Jiangxi Province as a family tutor for the children (2 girls and 1 boy), teaching them English, French and music. The grandmother of the family recommended him to read *HLM* saying that no other book could tell him so much about the Chinese family. Back in Oxford, Minford looked for someone to help him read *HLM*. The young lecturers at the time (Glen Dudbridge and Ian McMorran) refused to teach the novel, but told him that Hawkes would be the best person to approach, as they considered him to be a *HLM* fanatic. Hawkes, then the professor of Chinese at Oxford, was at that time on sabbatical leave at Harvard, having temporarily exchanged post and house with the Harvard professor Robert Hightower. (see p.20) When Hawkes returned to Oxford in 1967, Minford started reading *HLM* with him. Minford was the only 1 of 4 students studying Chinese in that year to join Hawkes' class on the novel. A young Chinese teacher, Tao Tao Liu, did however sit in on the classes. Minford studied the first 10 chapters

with Hawkes and then graduated with First Class Honours in 1968. He then temporarily left the academic world, to lead a 'rambling life', exploring Indian mysticism and spirituality.

In the winter of 1969, Minford visited Hawkes unannounced in Oxford. He told Hawkes that he now wanted to devote his life to translating *HLM*. By a fortunate coincidence, Hawkes was in discussion with Penguin Classics to translate the whole novel. Hawkes spontaneously invited Minford to take on the last 40 chapters (chapters 81-120), while he himself would do the first 80 chapters. Betty Radice and James Price, the senior editors at Penguin Classics readily accepted the idea. Subsequently, Minford worked with Hawkes on the Penguin Classics translation, the *Stone*, over a period of 15 years.

Some years later, while he was slowly working on the first stage of the translation of the last forty chapters, he was awarded a scholarship to study for a PhD in the Australian National University. His supervisor was the late Liu Ts'un Yan, 柳存仁, himself an authority on *HLM*. In March 1977, before setting off for Australia, he married Rachel, Hawkes' oldest daughter, who accompanied him and his two children from a prior marriage to Australia.

After receiving his doctorate in 1980, he took up a teaching post at the Tianjin Foreign Language Institute in China where he stayed from 1980 to 1982. For the next 4 years, he taught at the Chinese University of Hong Kong where he also edited *Renditions*, a journal of translation studies. In 1986, he moved to New Zealand and in 1987 became the Chair Professor of Chinese in the University of Auckland. After various other appointments, from 2006 to his retirement, he was Professor of Chinese at the Australian National University.

After completing the translation of the last 2 volumes of *HLM*, Minford translated again for Penguin Classics extracts from Pu Songling's *Strange Tales from a Chinese Studio* 聊齋誌異¹³ and Sunzi's *The Art of War* 孫子兵法.¹⁴ He also produced a 3-volume translation of Jin Yong's *The Deer and the Cauldron* 鹿鼎記¹⁵ for Oxford University Press. Most recently, he has produced a new translation of the *I Ching* 易經¹⁶ (Viking Penguin 2014), and of the *Tao Te Ching* 道德經¹⁷ (Viking Penguin 2018).

His earlier years had in some ways prepared him to become a translator and to engage in the endeavour of translating *HLM*, *I Ching*, and Pu Songling's *Strange Tales*, etc. His varied life experience, including his involvement in mysticism, and the death of his first wife at the

young age of 24 helped him, in particular, to decipher the mythic, spiritual message of *HLM*, and to be in sympathy with the journey of Bao-yu, the male protagonist, towards leaving the world and becoming a monk.

Another particular influence was his early educational background. Minford was, for example, able to re-create the tone in Chapter 84, giving a Latinate version of the classical Chinese term, 八股文章, normally translated as “eight-legged essay”.¹⁸ Minford uses the word Octopartite to highlight the parallel with the tradition of Latin composition and goes on to translate Bao-yu’s essay into Latin. He makes a parallel between Bao-yu’s elite Chinese classical education and a similar European one. Minford explains that his own painful memory of suffering at the hands of a pedantic school teacher affected his approach to translating this scene. Putting the classical Chinese into Latin accurately conveys the boredom which classical education often imposes on a youngster, at the same time hinting that there is nonetheless something of value underlying it. Minford’s novel approach met with Hawkes’ full approval.

A close relationship between the two men continued until Hawkes died in 2009, making Minford his literary executor in his Last Will and Testament, as shown in the following extract from the document:

Fig. 1-1. Hawkes’ Last Will and Testament

2.5.1 In my Will “my Literary Estate” means all published and unpublished works of which I am the author and all manuscripts letters notes records and other writings (including those stored on computer or word processor discs and the discs on which they are stored) produced in the course of or otherwise relevant to or of interest in connection with my Literary work together with all my copyrights and any other rights and privileges which may exist in any of the foregoing material”

2.5.2 I appoint my son-in-law **JOHN MINFORD** of Fontmarty Tuchan 11350 Aude France to be the Executor of my Will to administer only my Literary Estate and DIRECT that the expense of taking out a limited grant of probate shall be borne by my residuary estate

Minford's own section of the translation of the *Stone* has been hailed as achieving full consistency with Hawkes' own work. The two are given equal credit for the classic status which the full five volumes have now achieved. However, Minford himself has modestly said that anything of value in his translation resulted from the long training which he was lucky enough to receive from Hawkes, which he refers to as an 'oral transmission' or 口傳.

1.2.3 Correspondence between Hawkes and Minford

In addition to telephone calls and visits to each other's homes, Hawkes and Minford wrote to each other constantly throughout their collaboration. Fortunately, the bulk of their correspondence has survived, and is now in a private collection in Taiwan. I am grateful to the collector and to Minford for granting me access to this collection.¹⁹

These letters both demonstrate the closeness of their relationship and provide insight into the working of the minds of these two translators.

The recurring theme of Hawkes' letters is re-assurance and support for what Minford is doing. In a letter dated Jan 1974, he writes to Minford that he trusts him totally with the *Stone*.

Hawkes seems to act as a father figure for Minford to some extent, showing a great personal concern for him. For example, in his letter dated 27 Jan 1974, when he has not heard from his student for a while, he expresses anxiety that he himself might have accidentally offended him or he had run into some kind of difficulty.

In another letter, dated 31 Jan 1974, Hawkes shows his continuing interest in what Minford is doing, expressing enthusiasm in the star-watching class Minford was running for children. Hawkes also mentions his own devising of a secret writing system when he was a child.

In 1976, Minford received a severely critical letter from Betty Radice, the editor of the Penguin Classics, disagreeing with his treatment of dialogue in Volume 4. Hawkes wrote to him to give him support and re-assurance, pointing out the editor was actually impressed on the whole. Hawkes gave his own opinion that different translators inevitably do things differently, and advised him to make concession on things that were not essential, but to be politely insistent on important matters where he was sure he was in the right.

On learning that Minford was to marry his own daughter, Rachel, Hawkes wrote of his delight that he was to become a son as well as a collaborator, and in his next letter, he addressed Minford as "Dear Son John".

Hawkes was in general very supportive, writing that he liked the translation more each time he read it. Hawkes told Minford that Jean, a very discerning reader, was a great fan of Volume 1 to 3, and was now also a great fan of Minford's work.

Hawkes and Minford worked closely together, and were both involved in the project from the start in 1970. Minford himself has reflected that their collaboration was particularly fruitful because their minds generally worked in the same way. After Minford finished Volume 4 of the *Stone*, Hawkes came to visit Minford in Australia in 1979. Hawkes sat down together with Minford to look at the draft of some of the chapters. Hawkes started to make some corrections. After he had finished, Minford looked at what he had written and said in surprise, "That's exactly what I put in the first place." Hawkes agreed, and vowed never to do this again.

1.3 The Translator's archive

The *Stone*, the Hawkes-Minford translation of *HLM*, the supreme masterpiece of classical Chinese fiction, has been heralded as one of the greatest translations of this century.^{20, 21}

Despite the many compliments paid to the work, there has been very little empirical investigation of the process involved in bringing to reality something which may have seemed an impossible task. The main goal of this thesis is to fill this vacuum.

Luckily, an archive relating to Hawkes and the translation has come into existence in the last decade. The archive includes a collection of raw materials used in the making of *HLM*, including Hawkes' working journals, notes, drafts, manuscripts, correspondences, and various artifacts, etc., which were in the custody of Minford as Hawkes' literary executor, and were subsequently donated by him to the Chinese University of Hong Kong Library. This collection provides unique primary sources through which to study the making of the translation.

The present study is an attempt to look at the translators at work, through these raw materials, to examine how accomplished translators become what they are, and to study the intricate scholarly and creative process involved in the translation of the *Stone*.

The following section gives an overview of the Translator's archive and how it came to be established, including components such as The CASGLIAD David Hawkes in the National Library of Wales, the *Notebooks*, The Hawkes Papers and the *Stone* manuscript.

1.3.1 The CASGLIAD David Hawkes in the National Library of Wales (Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru) 霍克思文庫 (1990s)

The CASGLIAD David Hawkes²² was Hawkes' working library. It comprises the wide range of scholarly works owned by Hawkes and consulted in the making of the *Stone*. Hawkes went to live in Wales on his retirement in 1984. Thinking that he would probably not work on Chinese again, he donated his library of Chinese and Japanese books to the National Library of Wales, with a total of around 1710 titles in 4,400 items of books, journals and conference papers.

Especially note-worthy are an 1876 wood-cut edition of *Zhuang-zi*, the first Chinese book Hawkes bought in Oxford in the 1940s, and a Po-na edition of the twenty-four dynastic histories with pencil notes by Arthur Waley, its original owner. There are also other volumes with annotations by various well-known sinologists.

The collection also reflects Hawkes' different interests, and is divided into six broad categories, namely, (1) language, (2) philosophy and religion, (3) history, (4) archaeology and art, (5) ancient and modern literature, periodicals, etc, and (6) reference works.

The collection contains a large number of materials relevant to Hawkes' two outstanding translations, including a large number of volumes devoted to *Chuci* 楚辭 *The Songs of the South*, (CASGLIAD-819-882), Hawkes own copy of his D.Phil thesis of 1955, and different translations of *HLM* 紅樓夢. In addition to his own translation, the *Stone*, (CASGLIAD-1151-1256), there are three other English versions, they are by Wang Jizhen (Chi-chen) (1958), the McHugh sisters (translated from Kuhn's German version) (1978), and Yang Xianyi (Hsien-yi) (1978); a Russian translation by V.A. Panasyuk (1958), a Japanese one by Itō Sōhei 伊藤漱平 (1969-70), and a French version by Li Tche-Houa (1981). In addition to *HLM* and *Chuci*, there are many examples and works of Yuan plays, in which Hawkes was particularly interested.

There is an interesting story behind the ten volume edition of the historical classic *Zizhitongjian* 資治通鑑. During the visit of the National Library of Beijing representatives to Oxford in the 1950s, Hawkes and a Christ Church student, Mr R H Dundas, returned a printed wood-cut copy of the 166-foot-long silkscroll Wanshoutu (Wan Shou T'u) depicting the Emperor Kangxi in procession on his sixtieth birthday. This copy had originally been taken from the Old Summer Palace by an ancestor of Dundas'. Dundas received, in return, from the National Library of Beijing, the modern edition of *Zizhitongjian* 資治通鑑 which was then given to Hawkes. (CASGLIAD-301/1-10)

In addition to Chinese classics such as the works of Confucius and Mencius, etc., and commentaries on them, the Hawkes Collection includes modern vernacular works by, e.g. Lu Xun 魯迅, Ba Jin 巴金, and Qian Zhongshu 錢鍾書, etc.

The Japanese section contains books on various aspects of ancient and modern Japanese language and literature. It includes the work of around 80 modern Japanese poets. There are also volumes with Japanese text and facing translation. Most of the Japanese section was bought in 1969 when Hawkes was in Japan.

The reference Section contains conference papers such as Sinological publications of the Harvard-Yenching Institute, and the papers presented for the 1964 Conference on Chinese Communist Historiography (a complete set).

There are a large number of Chinese historical and literary collections, including *Bainaben Ershisi shi* 百衲本二十四史 (824 fascicles), *Sibu congkan chupian suben* 四部叢刊初編縮本 (110 vols.), *Taisho Tripitaka* 大正新修大藏經 (55 vols.), and *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (120 fascicles).

Catalogue of The CASGLIAD David Hawkes

The CASGLIAD David Hawkes was catalogued by Wu Jianzhong, who was then pursuing a PhD degree in librarianship at The University of Wales, Aberystwyth. This project formed part of the research work for his doctoral degree. Wu was the Deputy Director of the Shanghai Library for a long time, and has recently moved to Macau as the chief librarian of the Macau University Library.

A bound volume of the unique copy of the catalogue of The CASGLIAD David Hawkes in the National Library of Wales is now deposited in the Hawkes Papers in the Chinese University of Hong Kong Library.²³

The Catalogue is a precious record of the books he used in his translation. It helps us to keep track of the specific editions of the works which Hawkes refers to. Many of the reference works cited in the *Notebooks* can be found in the Catalogue. Some of them will be mentioned in Chapters 2 and 3 of this study.

1.3.2 *The Story of the Stone: A Translator's Notebooks* (2000)

The *Notebooks* chronicle the working of Hawkes on translating *HLM* from 1970 to 1979, a useful chronology of Hawkes' work in progress. They document in detail what Hawkes is puzzled about, how he goes about sorting the problems out, which reference sources he uses, when he completes each chapter, and who sees copies of his drafts. The entries in the

Notebooks, being the notes of a working translator, also serve as a personal diary and a record of Hawkes' personal communications with Minford and their exchange of each other's drafts, as well as correspondence with sinologists worldwide. Through this we can get a real picture of how accomplished translators work on a daily basis. This is a valuable primary source on the translators at work.

The facsimile edition of the *Notebooks* is made up of 4 informal working journals which Hawkes kept during the process of translating *HLM*. The book spans the period from 10 November 1970 to 1 June 1979, with details as follows:

Part 1: 10 Nov 1970 - 17 Feb 1973 (p.1-90)

Part 2: 17 Feb 1973 - 16 Aug 1975 (p. 91-180)

Part 3: 18 Aug 1975 - 1 Jun 1979 (p. 181-251)

Part 4: verse translation (undated translations of the poems in the text) (p.252-416)

When Hawkes set about translating *HLM*, he worked on the poems first, and the draft translation of those from p.322 - 1023 of the Renmin edition of *HLM* were included as part 4 of the *Notebooks*. Consequently, the *Stone* manuscript omits the poems as they had already been translated separately.

These 416-page *Notebooks* illustrate Hawkes' scholarly and literary concerns, and provide valuable insight into the intricate process by which he produced his translation. The approximately 700 entries in the *Notebooks* document the decisions and editorial choices he makes among the variant texts of *HLM*, his emendations, the extensive sources in Chinese and western literature he consults, his collaboration with Minford, and his perceptive and sometimes entertaining scholarly remarks, etc. The topics covered include inconsistencies in the narrative, poetry and drama, symbolism and allusions, customs and ceremonies, botany and medicine, names and family relations, vocabularies and expressions, as well as games, all handled with meticulous care by Hawkes, all of which are exemplified in the thesis. Hawkes' notes are well illustrated with drawings and diagrams, "a picture is worth a thousand words", as Minford remarks in his Foreword to the *Notebooks*.

A substantial portion of my research was taken up with deciphering and transcribing Hawkes' hand-written and often cryptically abbreviated text.

Background for the publication

The *Notebooks* were originally four informal working journals which were given to Minford by Hawkes early on and later acquired from him in 1998 by the Translation Centre of Lingnan University (Formerly Lingnan College), through the initiative of Joseph Lau 劉紹銘 and C.C.

Liu 劉靖之, who realized the value of this document, and published a facsimile edition. The sale raised a sum of money which helped Hawkes to purchase a house, as he had decided to move back to Oxford after living in Wales for over 10 years.

Collaboration between Hawkes and Minford

The *Notebooks*, together with other primary sources on the making of the *Stone*, provide unique, concrete examples to illustrate the collaboration between Hawkes and Minford.

Minford was involved in the translation when Hawkes started on it. For example, in 1972, they worked together on altering the spellings of the early chapters, converting them from Wade-Giles to Pinyin, as shown on NB62. The two maintained a regular correspondence, including the exchange of drafts. For example, Hawkes sent to Minford a copy of Chapters 5-10 by surface mail on 22 December 1970 (NB8); Chapters 21 & 22 on Sunday 14 Nov 1971 (NB37), Chapters 23-25 on Tuesday 15 February 1972 (NB62), and Chapters 32-38 on Tuesday, 31 December 1974, the same date Hawkes received Minford's own translation of Chapters 81-82. (NB161)

Hawkes produced a number of copies of his drafts for circulation. Copy 1 was normally sent to Betty Radice (editor of the Penguin Classics), copy 2 to Dorothy Liu (a close friend whom he consulted constantly) and copy 3 to Minford. The original typescripts were at first deposited in a red box at the Oriental Institute for safety, as he mentioned on 10 August 1971 (NB30) regarding copies of Chapters 16-19,

“[16(4), 17(1), 18 dup copy rough TS, 19 unique copy rough TS] in red box in OI for safety”.

Hawkes records in detail the Chapter number and copy number. Here, 16(4) seems to refer to the fourth copy of Chapter 16, and “OI” refers to The Oriental Institute of Oxford in Pusey Lane where Hawkes' professorial office was located.

Chronology

Despite the fact that these are informal notebooks, Hawkes provides neat entries which are systematic, providing us with a detailed chronology to enable us to trace his work in progress.

The entries in the *Notebooks* are dated, in a systematic format, giving the details in the order of the day of the week, day, month, year (e.g. Tuesday 10 Nov. 1970). There are constant cross-references by date to earlier entries. For example, in the entry dated Thur 4 Oct 1973 (NB120), Hawkes writes “cf. 11 Sept 1973”, referring to his entry on NB117 on the same topic written almost a month before.

In special cases, he adds also the time of day in his entries. For example, he gives the precise time -- Monday 17 April 1972 10 pm -- when he completed a rough TS (typescript) draft of the Introduction of Volume 1, writing “Phew!” to show his relief. At that point, he had already completed the 26 chapters of Volume 1, and it was more or less ready for the publisher. On another occasion, he also gives Sunday 24 December 1972 (1:30 pm) as the time of completion of chapter 28, noting he could now take time off to celebrate Christmas.

The *Notebooks* show that Hawkes normally worked on the chapters in sequence, but occasionally, jumped far ahead. For example, he made notes on Chapter 28 when working on Chapter 18, contemplating the names for the players as follows: (see Section 2.3.1: the entry on Thurs 24 June 1971 (NB19) for further details)

“蔣玉函 (38 [28] /332) male, player of 小旦 roles, has stage name 琪官”

The first entry in the *Notebooks* is for Chapter 9 on 10 Nov 1970, and he had all 26 chapters for Volume 1 completed on 21 Feb 1972. We may deduce that it seems to have taken him 16 months to finish 18 Chapters (Ch. 9-26), i.e. at a rate of more than 1 chapter per month. However, an estimate of this kind might be arbitrary, as Hawkes had started preparatory work long beforehand, with the poems translated first. This is illustrated, for example, by the entry for Saturday 28 Nov 1970, when Hawkes was working principally on Chapter 10 or 11. He mentioned “By evening completed (after several days work) the 埋花吟 of Chap. 27 under the mistaken impression that it comes in Vol. 1”. (NB6)

Hawkes decided to bring out his own 80 chapters of the 120 chapters of *HLM* in 3 volumes, and Minford decided to bring his own 40 chapters in 2 volumes. Upon the completion of the translation of all 26 chapters for Volume 1 on 21 Feb 1972, Hawkes began his work on chapter headings the next day, on 22 Feb 1972, and then on the day after, he wrote down the suggested subtitles for each Volume, namely, *The Golden Days*; *The Crab-flower Club*; *The Warning Voice*, titles which were retained in the published translation. In addition to the main text, Hawkes also outlines the format and other details to be included in Volume One. Hawkes provides meticulous details. He draws boxes outlining the format for page headings, the table of contents, and the chapter headings. He lists the items to be added to the main text of translation, with “Note on spelling” and “Introduction”, “The Table of Contents” to come before it, and “List of characters” and “tables” to come after it.

Bibliographical references

One of the jewels of the *Notebooks* is the lengthy series of multi-lingual bibliographical entries Hawkes provides concerning his research. We find entries in English and French from Index Sinicus (NB142) , and NB20 lists Chinese and English titles, indicating the source, i.e. “letter

from TK Cheng giving following bibliography” on 30 June 1971 (see Note 9 on Zheng Dekun (Cheng Te-kun) 鄭德坤 on p.198); Furthermore, there are lists of references on medical subjects (NB5), gardens (NB15), Chinese symbolism such as the ru-yi scepter 筆錠如意 (NB20-24), Chinese customs such as those of the Dragon Boat Festival (NB101-102), in addition to many other topics.

Use of libraries

Hawkes’ borrowing of *HLM* manuscripts from libraries is recorded in the *Notebooks*. For example, he writes that he returned the manuscript 乾隆抄本 of *HLM* to the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London on Thursday 3 Dec 1970 and reborrowed Volumes 1-2 until 3 January 1971. On Thursday Feb 4 1971, he renewed again his loan of 抄本. At this stage, he had not yet acquired a personal copy of this, although he obviously acquired one later (it was presented to him by his former colleague Glen Dudbridge), as it is included in his donation to the National Library of Wales. He also refers in his entry on Monday 15 Nov 1971 to the Ashmolean Far Eastern Library (NB37). However, Hawkes makes particularly intense use of the Bodleian Library. He marks down, for example, the shelf number of the Bodleian Library for books such as *Minjian lanyin huabu tu’an* 民間藍印花布圖案 by Lin Hanjie 林漢傑 (Bod. chin.d.1020), as shown on NB20; Vuilleumier, B[ernard]. *The art of silk weaving in China, symbolism of Chinese imperial ritual robes* (Bod. 21998 d.34). (NB24) (see Section 2.1.1)

Communication with scholars and friends

The *Notebooks* also record correspondence and telephone calls with *HLM* specialists and sinologists worldwide, many of them his personal friends. Names mentioned include Joseph Needham, Lu Gwei-Djen 魯桂珍, Wu Shichang 吳世昌, and Mary Tregear, etc. He also frequently consulted Dorothy Liu ²⁴, one of his close friends. Biographical details of some of these figures are to be found in my footnotes.

Abbreviations

Abbreviations and acronyms abound in the *Notebooks*, as Hawkes wrote the notes without other readers in mind, and no key was provided. To decipher Hawkes’ cryptic shorthand and abbreviations is, really, a Sherlock Holmes experience. Luckily, Minford has provided some of the clues to these puzzles.

Reference works

- CTS - *Quan Tangshi (Chüan T'ang Shih)* 全唐詩 (NB341)
- KYTT - *Guoyu cidian (Kuo-yü tz'u-tien)* 國語辭典 (NB40)
- PWYF - *Peiwen Yunfu* 佩文韻府 (NB74)

Authors, editors, translators

- CC Wang - Wang Jizhen 王際真 (one of the English translators of *HLM*) (NB3)
- XQ - Cao Xueqin 曹雪芹 (author of *HLM*) (NB232)
- OFA - Our Forgetful Author (referring to Cao Xueqin) (NB219)
- YPB - Yu Pingbo 俞平伯 (editor of one of the editions of *HLM*) (NB119)

Characters in *HLM*

- GJ - Grandmother Jia (NB87)
- GL - Grannie Liu (NB156)
- LW - Lady Wang (NB119)
- XF - Xi-feng (NB234)

Others

- ae -- age (ae is the abbreviation for *aetate*, Latin for age) (NB310)
- ROM - Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology (NB197)

Drawings, Pictures and diagrams

Hawkes makes use of many drawings to illustrate issues he comes across in the translation, creating floor plans, seating plans, symbols, and games, etc. For example, he draws a picture of the 3 objects from which 筆錠如意 is made up, and writes in Chinese characters both 筆錠如意 and its sound rebus 必定如意 to illustrate how the expression works like a pun as a symbol of success and good fortune. (See Section 2.1.1)

To illustrate the drinking game, threesomes with dominoes played by Grandmother Jia and the girls in Chapter 40, Hawkes reproduces on NB69 the picture of 'tiles' and their names from Stewart Culin's *Chinese games with dice and dominoes*. (see note 25 in Chapter 2) He then makes his own drawing on NB71 of each set of three dominoes and writes the names for the combination. These are published unchanged in Volume 2 of the *Stone* (Appendix II Threesomes with the Dominoes). (See Section 2.1.12)

Diary

The *Notebooks* not only provide a chronology of Hawkes' work, they are, at the same time, his personal diary. He writes on Wednesday 30 March 1977 that "John and Rachel fly to Australia from Heathrow Airport" (NB208). In the entry on Thursday 25 May 1972, he records the "cheque for volume one (£600) received" from the publisher. (NB68). In the entry on Wednesday 31 March 1971, he notes getting back corrected typescripts of Chapters 14 and 15 from Mrs. Halsey (his secretary), and "Halsey paid for typing 11-15". (NB14) He records that two copies of Volume 2 of the *Stone* were sent on Monday 29 September 1975, copy 1 to Betty Radice, and copy 2 sent to Will Sulkin, Radice's assistant, later publishing director of the Bodley Head (NB186). On Tuesday 27 August 1974, he received a copy of "Itō 's 中國古典文學大系: 'Kōrōmu' (Heibonsha)", the Japanese translation of *HLM*, which Hawkes notes, was posted in Japan in 17th June. (NB151).

1.3.3 The Hawkes Papers and The Story of the Stone manuscripts (2012)

The Hawkes Papers ²³ include the manuscript of the *Stone* (Chapters 2-80) which Hawkes sold to CUHK Translation Centre of the Chinese University of Hong Kong in the 1980s and the related correspondence, works and biographical materials which Minford (Hawkes' literary executor) donated to CUHK Library in 2012. The correspondence include letters from major literary figures such as Qian Zhongshu 錢鍾書, Fang Zhaoling 方召麐 written in Chinese calligraphy, etc.

The handwritten manuscript of *The Story of the Stone* is heavily corrected, with whole pages crossed out and replaced. These corrections provide valuable insight into the working of the translator's mind.

Minford recalls the dramatic story of how the valuable archives on the making of *The Story of the Stone* came to be preserved and made publicly available, which might otherwise have been lost. Hawkes' manuscript of the *Stone* (including 78 chapters) was sold to the Translation Centre of the Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK), whose Director was then Eva Hung, for about 1,200 pounds in the 1980s. Eva Hung valued the manuscript highly and had it put on exhibition. Following the death of Hawkes in 2009, Minford thought the manuscript would be a valuable research resource and tried to trace it. Minford's enquiries were initially fruitless, but eventually in 2012 he tracked it down. At that time, Minford was working with CUHK Library on the terms of his donation of the other relevant Hawkes Papers, of which he himself had custody as Hawkes' literary executor. To ensure all of these valuable items were available for consultation, Minford made it a condition of his donation

that the manuscript of the translation itself should be digitized and available for use by researchers.

Materials providing biographical details

The treasures in the archive include materials on and by Hawkes and his correspondents which provide insight into his life and his relations with his family, friends and scholars worldwide. These materials range from a video and transcript of one of Hawkes' interviews, to a Bodleian Library book retrieval form. These are some of the important items:

- a video of an interview with Hawkes by Minford in 2007, with transcript compiled by Rachel Minford;
- photographs, e.g. of Hawkes' wedding, of Hawkes with friends such as Wu Shichang 吴世昌, Rao Zongyi 饒宗頤, Fang Zhaoling 方召麐, etc., and a group photo of the delegates attending the first "Junior Sinologues Conference" in Cambridge (1948);
- Contractual materials including the Memorandum of agreement on the *Stone*, contracts, invoices, as well as royalty statements from publishers, licensing and copyright bodies;
- Newspaper clippings, such as a letter to the *Observer* (1997), Hawkes' obituary by Minford in *The Times*,¹² and Hawkes' articles in the *Times Literary Supplement*, the last one being a long article on Empson's Chinese ballad.⁶
- magazine clippings such as *Ming Pao Monthly* re Hawkes watching *The Return of the Soul* in London produced by Pai Hsien-yung (Bai Xianyong) 白先勇.

Lectures, notes and articles on Chinese literature (1961- 2009)

These materials are testimony to Hawkes' rigorous scholarship and his wide range of interests in Chinese literature, including the oldest Chinese classics, Tang poetry, vernacular literature, and of course, his particular passion, Yuan plays:

- Lecture notes composed for a series of seminars on *HLM* at the Australian National University, Canberra, 1979-80;
- Hawkes' inaugural lecture as Professor of Chinese at the University of Oxford, "Chinese: classical, modern and humane", on 25 May, 1961 ;⁷

- A book review of “Aux origines de la poésie classique en Chine, étude sur la poésie lyrique à l' époque des Han” (1968);
- Hawkes' notes on various editions of *HLM*, Chinese classics (including Mencius 孟子, the *Zuozhuan*, 左傳, *Shi Jing* 詩經), Tang Dynasty poems (including poems by Wang Wei, 王維, Li Bai, 李白, Bai Juyi, 白居易, etc.) as well as vernacular literature, e.g. *Yecao* 野草 of Lu Xun 魯迅, and 800 pages of synopses and commentary on all the extant Yuan plays 元雜劇;
- Papers for a Seminar on “mental states in traditional Chinese literature” (1995) held in honour of a German sinologist living in Oslo, Christoph Harbsmeier 何莫邪. This includes Hawkes' own preface to the resulting publication, ‘Minds and mentalities in traditional Chinese literature’. ²⁵

Correspondence

A major proportion of The Hawkes Papers is made up of his correspondence, which sheds light both on his academic interests and his personal relationships with his colleagues, students, publishers, and scholars worldwide. Highlights are as follows:

- Letters and printouts of email communication between Minford and his wife Rachel and potential contributors to a birthday book, *A Birthday Book for Brother Stone*. (2003) written to honour Hawkes' 80th birthday; ²⁶
- A letter written in Chinese calligraphy from the late Qian Zhongshu 錢鍾書 (1910-1998) to All Souls College, Oxford, for which Hawkes added an English translation. It was Qian who penned the well-known tribute to Hawkes, ‘All other translators of the Story found it ‘stone’ and left it ‘brick’.’ ²⁷
- Arthur Waley's (1889-1966) translation of *The Tale of Genji*, (see Note 5 in Chapter 3) and various handwritten notes. There is also a copy of Waley's review of Wu Shichang's book, *The Red Chamber Dream*, in the *Times Literary Supplement*.
- Letters from Rao Zongyi 饒宗頤 (1917-2018) to Hawkes and to Minford enclosing

Rao's poem; an invitation letter from Professor Lee Chack Fan 李焯芬, Director of Jao Tsung-I Petite Ecole (HKU) to Hawkes inviting him to the Conference in celebration of Rao Zongyi's 90th birthday, an invitation to Hawkes to write a book review of a bibliography on Chuci, 楚辭書錄, and preface to Rao's own books.

- Letters to Hawkes from Fang Zhaoling 方召麐 (1914-2006), a famous Hong Kong painter and calligrapher, who was briefly (and nominally) Hawkes' student at Oxford. Many of these (her letters) are written in her characteristic Chinese calligraphy on two to ten sheets of paper. They cover the exhibitions of her paintings in Shanghai, and Beijing, etc., with a compliment on Hawkes' rendering of the *Stone*, and a message about a gift of two paintings to Hawkes, and a letter of thanks for Hawkes' writing a preface for her.
- Hawkes' letters from his old friend Robert Hightower, which probably are the longest correspondence in this archive. Hawkes and Hightower become lifelong friends, after temporarily occupying each other's university posts and homes in 1957. Topics covered include personal matters, Minford's translation of *Liaozhai*, and an appreciative comment on the *Stone* and *Letters from a Godless Grandfather*.
- In the 1974 letter, Hightower compliments Hawkes on the *Stone*, "Thank you for the *Stone*, I have been reading it with delight and admiration. You have really done it, made it read like a novel and not an elaborate piece of chinoiserie impossible to take seriously."
- Most movingly, there is Hightower's note scribbled when he was already blind, "Dear David, I can't die however ready for the event without sending a note of thanks for your letters and books."

Notes:

1. Details about Hawkes in this section are based on the interview by Connie Chan Oi Sum in Oxford in December 1998, which is recorded in her M.Phil. Thesis, *The Story of the Stone's Journey to the West: A Study in Chinese-English Translation History*. Hong Kong Polytechnic University, 2001.
2. Hawkes, David. *The Problem of Date and Authorship in the Ch'u Tz'u*, D.Phil. diss., Oxford University, 1956.
3. Qu Yuan 屈原. *Ch'u Tz'u: The Songs of the South, an Ancient Chinese Anthology*. Translated by David Hawkes. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959 and Boston: Beacon, 1962; revised edition as *The Songs of the South: An Ancient Chinese Anthology of Poems*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985. (CASGLIAD-594: Clarendon Press, 1959)
4. Qiu Ke'an compliments Hawkes' *Stone* as "a masterpiece in its own right" in his book review of the *Stone* in Qiu K. A. "Chinese Love Story". *The Times* 6 December 1980, p. 7. Book review of *The Story of the Stone* Volume 3, *The Warning Voice*.

Correspondence between Hawkes and Qiu Ke'an can be consulted at David Hawkes Papers. CUHK Library Archival Collections, the Chinese University of Hong Kong Library.
5. Chan Oi Sum, Connie. *The Story of the Stone's Journey to the West: A Study in Chinese-English Translation History*. M.Phil. Thesis. Hong Kong Polytechnic University, 2001.
6. Hawkes, David. "Mix Them Grain by Grain: Memories of William Empson and the Sources of His 'Chinese Ballad'." *The Times Literary Supplement* 13 February 2009, pp.13-15.
7. Hawkes, David. "Chinese: Classical, Modern and Humane" (an Inaugural Lecture Delivered before the University of Oxford on 25 May 1961). In *Classical, Modern and Humane: Essays in Chinese Literature*. Edited by John Minford and Siu-kit Wong. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1989, pp.3-23.
8. Hawkes, David. *A little Primer of Tu Fu*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967 (revised edition, Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1987 and New York: New York Review Books, 2016)
9. Shang Zhongxian 尚仲賢. *Liu Yi and the Dragon Princess: A Thirteenth-Century Zaju Play*. Translated and adapted by David Hawkes. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2003.
10. Hawkes, David. *Letters from a Godless Grandfather* (published privately in a limited edition in Hong Kong), 2004.
11. Hawkes, David. "Obituary of Dr. Arthur Waley." *Asia Major* 12.2 (1966), pp. 143-147.
12. Minford, John (published anonymously). "David Hawkes" Obituary. *The Times* 28 August 2009, p.75.
13. Pu Songling 蒲松齡. *Strange Tales from a Chinese Studio*. Translated by John Minford. (Penguin Classics). London: Penguin, 2006.

14. Sunzi 孫子. *The Art of War*. Translated by John Minford. New York: Viking, 2002.
15. Cha, Louis (Jin Yong) 金庸. *The Deer and the Cauldron*. Translated by John Minford. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1997-2002. 3 vols.
16. *I Ching* 易經. Translated by John Minford. New York: Viking Penguin, 2014.
17. Lao Tzu 老子. *Tao Te Ching: The Essential Translation of the Ancient Chinese Book of the Tao*. Translated by John Minford. New York: Viking Penguin, 2018.
18. Minford, John. " 'Pieces of Eight': Reflections on Translating *The Story of the Stone*." In *Translating Chinese Literature*. Edited by Eugene Eoyang and Lin Yao-fu. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995, pp.178-203.
19. The author is indebted to Professor Minford, for providing the relevant details in this Section.
20. Chloe Starr remarked that "The Story of the Stone has not been superseded since Hawkes published the first volume of the set in 1973 and Minford the last in 1986", in "Mind the gap: The Hawkes-Minford transition in The Story of the Stone." In *Style, Wit and Word-play: Essays in Translation Studies in Memory of David Hawkes*. Edited by Tao Tao Liu, Laurence K.P. Wong and Chan Sin-Wai. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012, p.115.
21. W.J.F. Jenner remarked that "it will be one of the best translations into English of our time" in "Early Chinese Fiction" in *The Times Higher Education Supplement*, 19th July, 1974, p.16.
22. Section 1.3.1 is based on the catalogue of the CASGLIAD Hawkes Collection which is deposited in the David Hawkes papers. CUHK Library Archival Collections, the Chinese University of Hong Kong Library.
23. David Hawkes papers. CUHK Library Archival Collections, the Chinese University of Hong Kong Library.
24. The author is indebted to Minford and his friend, Tao Tao Liu (daughter of Dorothy Liu) for providing the following biographical details of Dorothy Liu:

Dorothy Yin C. Liu (1918-2008). Born in 1918 in Tianjin China, she lived in the old Italian concession of Tianjin, and was the eldest daughter of Cheng Ke, the city mayor. She was brought up by her uncle Cheng Yan (whom she called Dabai) from when she was very young. She owed her love of reading to her uncle who supervised her studies. She emigrated to Britain in 1949 as her husband was studying in Oxford. She taught Chinese at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London, and at Oxford where she met Hawkes who was then a young lecturer, and also at Cambridge. She and Hawkes remained friends and she gave him substantial help and advice on the translation of *HLM*. Consequently, the first volume of *The Story of the Stone* was dedicated to Dorothy Liu and her husband. Her daughter, Tao Tao Liu attended Hawkes' classes in Oxford and is one of the editors of *Style, wit and word-play: essays in translation studies in memory of David Hawkes* published by Cambridge Scholars Publishing in 2012.
25. Anderl, Christoph and Halvor Eifring. *Studies in Chinese Language and Culture : Festschrift in Honour of Christoph Harbsmeier on The Occasion of His 60th Birthday*. Oslo : Hermes Academic Publishing, 2006.

26. May, Rachel and John Minford. *A Birthday Book for Brother Stone: for David Hawkes, at Eighty*. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press; and Hong Kong Translation Society, 2003.
27. Zhang Longxi 張隆溪. "Guanyu 'Women sa' de yixie geren huiyi" 關於《我們仨》的一些個人回憶. *Wanxiang* 萬象 October-November 2003, pp. 23-28.

2 Hawkes' use of reference sources

2.0 Introduction

Something unique in Hawkes' translation is his determination to include every feature of the original, Hawkes states clearly in his introduction to Volume 1 of the *Stone* that "My one abiding principle has been to translate everything - even puns" (P I, Introduction, 46). Hawkes feels that since the immensely talented author had put so much thought into writing and re-writing, everything included is there for a reason and therefore must be retained in the translation.

As is universally known, Cao Xueqin's magnum opus stands out in Chinese literature for its literary and linguistic complexities and for the range of events and topics covered. *HLM* embraces the encyclopedic scope of Chinese culture and civilization. Translating the novel seems an impossible mission, even without taking into account the philosophical dimension of the novel, which presents even bigger challenges.

2.0.1 Philosophical allusions

The main plot of the novel describes the downfall of an originally prosperous noble household, the Jia family. On a spiritual level, it illustrates the spiritual journey of the Stone (Bao-yu, the male protagonist) to enlightenment.

The bonding between Bao-yu (the male protagonist who is the sole heir of the aristocratic Jia family), and his cousin, Dai-yu (the female protagonist) is based on their mythical existence which pre-determined their earthly fate. Their mythical existence is the main underlying motif of the novel. Bao-yu and Dai-yu are the incarnations respectively of the Stone rejected by the goddess Nü-wa and of the Crimson Pearl Flower. The latter's transformation into a fairy girl was due to the Stone's care, and she was determined to repay the kindness with her tears. This is the real origin of the adolescent love between Bao-yu and Dai-yu in *HLM*, which is the central feature of their earthly experience.

In the story, we find the juxtaposition of realistic and supernatural elements. The Buddhist monk and the Taoist who bring the Stone on a trip to the world, recur on various occasions in the novel to reveal that the apparent reality (i.e. the everyday life of Bao-yu and his cousins) is but an illusion.

In *HLM*, there are various episodes that reflect the ideas of ancient philosophers (e.g. Lao-zi 老子, Zhuang-zi 莊子, Mencius 孟子) and also draw on Zen Buddhism concepts. For example, Zhuang-zi 莊子 is mentioned on several occasions in *HLM* as one of Bao-yu's

favourite authors. In Chapter 21, Bao-yu finds Zhuang-zi's words fit his own mood marvelously, and writes his own thoughts on Taoist philosophy. Dai-yu, who happens to notice these lines, finds them both annoying and amusing, and adds a quatrain of her own. In Chapter 22, Bao-yu, feeling unfairly scolded by the girls, is reminded of Zhuang-zi. He writes a poem in the style of a Buddhist gatha, and then, still mesmerized with Zhuang-zi's words, he writes a poem conveying Zen ideas, foreshadowing his own destiny of becoming a monk. Ironically, his Zen idea is mocked by his cousins.

2.0.2 Literary and historical allusions

The narrative abounds in the cultural activities in which the highly literate Jia family indulge, including music, drama, painting and poetry. The Jia family members and their cousins are completely familiar with literary classics, and they frequently compete with each other in composing poetry in the Crab-flower Club formed by Tan-chun, playing a variety of verbal games such as drinking contests using literary quotations. They often engage actors to put on plays for celebration on occasions such as the family visit of the Imperial Concubine, New Year and birthday gatherings, etc.

These activities involve classical allusions, references to literary and historical figures, quotations from countless poems, puns, and riddles, etc. Thus, this novel encompasses the variety of genres from eighteen centuries of the Chinese literary heritage, including poetry, fiction, and drama, etc. We find references to celebrated Tang dynasty poems, famous Song dynasty lyrics, prominent Yuan plays, and Ming-Qing fiction throughout the novel. These literary elements are often symbolic of the characters of the protagonists, and are sometimes employed to foreshadow the destiny of individual characters and of the whole of the Jia family.

In particular, references to plays, which contain fine poetry, abound in *HLM*, and are used by the author to allude to the subsequent destinies of the family and of individual characters. For example, plays are used to pre-figure the destiny of the Stone in Chapter 22, in which the aria Clinging Vine 寄生草 from *Zhi-shen at the Monastery Gate*, foreshadows Bao-yu's becoming a monk. In Chapter 18, the four plays performed in the family visit of the Imperial Concubine are all symbolic and carry significant meaning, 'Shi-fan Entertains' 豪宴 from *The Handful of Snow*, foretells the downfall of the Jia family; 'The Double Seventh' 乞巧 from *The Palace of Eternal Youth*, describing the death of a Gui-fei (concubine of Emperor Ming Huang), alludes to the death of Yuan-chun; 'The Meeting of the Immortals' 仙緣 from *The Han-dan Road* illustrates the dream-like illusory nature of wealth and prosperity, alluding to the entire course

of the Jia family's decline; Li-niang's death-scene 離魂 from *The Return of the Soul* foreshadows Dai-yu's tragic death.

The two most significant plays throughout the novel are *Western Chamber* 西廂記 and *The Return of the Soul* 牡丹亭. In Chapter 23, Dai-yu hears two arias from the latter, which remind her of a line from the former. Dai-yu is introduced to *Western Chamber* by Bao-yu, and this is the play they enjoy reading together in secret. Bao-yu teases Dai-yu using quotations from *Western Chamber*, and Dai-yu rebukes Bao-yu using the quotation from the same play, which Dai-yu also quotes in the literary games. Some examples from the plays are illustrated in Section 2.2.

2.0.3 The variety of daily life in eighteenth-century China

The novel centres on the change in fortunes of an aristocratic family in the second century of the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911). At the same time, however, the story involves people from all walks of life, covering the whole spectrum of Chinese society. For example, we meet royals such as The Prince of Bei-jing, religious figures such as a Buddhist monk, a Taoist priest, Abbot Zhang, the head of the Taoist temple of the Lunar Goddess, Mother Ma (Bao-yu's godmother who uses witchcraft on Bao-yu and Xi-feng); players in Pear Tree Court such as Charmante, Parfumée; entertainers like Nuageuse from the Budding Grove, merchants like Bu Shi-ren who runs a perfumery; Ni Er, a racketeer and loan shark who drinks too much and is always fighting; a school bully like Jokey Jin; and ordinary unsophisticated villagers such as Grannie Liu, etc.

The novel thus gives a vivid portrait of daily life in eighteenth-century China, making extensive reference to virtually every aspect of traditional and contemporary Chinese culture. The range of divergent topics, all described in minute detail, includes: cultural activities such as the Jia family's drinking games, poetry, painting and calligraphy; customs associated with funerals and the honouring of ancestors, and religious activities such as the *Pro viventibus* ceremony; landscaping, gardening and architecture as exemplified in Prospect Garden; the enormous varieties of textiles such as the *mang* satins, Palace taffetas, gauzes and damasks which the Jia family receive from the Zhen family in Nanjing; gourmet cooking as exemplified in "cypress-smoked Siamese sucking-pig" which Xue-Pan receives as a birthday gift (P I, 26, 519); exotic snacks such as "a saucerful of chestnut fudge (made of chestnut purée steam-cooked with cassia-flavoured sugar)" which Bao-yu sends to Xiang-yun (P II, 37, 230); the culture of tea drinking, seen, for example, in the tea which Adamantina makes with melted snow, the simple rural life as illustrated by Grannie Liu's family; pharmacology, for example, the Deva-king Cardiac Elixir Pills, and the elaborate medical prescriptions for Qin-shi; the use of health foods such as "special mimosa-flavoured samshoo" which Dai-yu takes for her slight heart-burn (P II,

38, 248); foreign imports such as a mechanical clock with pendulum, and the headache plasters made with Western material, “*yi-fu-na*”, which Bao-yu gives Skybright for her cold, etc. (P II, 52, 537)

2.0.4 Chinese naming system and terminology of relationships

Chinese has more distinctions in its terms for relatives than English does. There is an elaborate system of titles for addressing them. These terms reflect both the seniority and the distinction between the paternal and maternal side. For example: 伯父 is a father's elder brother, 叔父 is a father's younger brother, 舅父 is a mother's brother (regardless of whether the brother is older or younger). In English, 伯父, 叔父 and 舅父, are all simply uncles. Likewise, 姨母 (mother's sister) and 姑母 (father's sister) are both aunts in English. It is challenging to distinguish who's who in a big family like the Jias.

2.0.5 Illustration from the *Notebooks*

For readers of *HLM*, the confusing Chinese names, the wide spectrum of topics covered, in particular, those involving traditional Chinese culture, and the abundant allusions to Chinese literature and history pose challenges for readers.

In the *Notebooks*, Hawkes notes down the reference sources he uses to sort out the puzzles he comes across in his translation. He draws on a variety of works published in China, France, Japan and elsewhere over several centuries. He also refers to suggestions from friends he consults during the project. These include Dorothy Liu, Mary Tregear, Joseph Needham, Lu Gwei-Djen 魯桂珍, Zheng Dekun 鄭德坤, and many others.

Informed by his thorough and exhaustive research, Hawkes creatively makes use of ‘incorporated footnotes’, i.e. detailed explanations embedded in the text rather than placed in traditional footnote format. This method avoids interruption to the flow of the story. Furthermore, in each volume of the Hawkes-Minford translation, readers are provided with useful aids in the form of prefaces and appendices, list of characters, and family trees, etc.

The following are some of the examples as recorded by Hawkes in the *Notebooks*.

2.1 Examples of reference to a wide range of scholarly and other sources

2.1.1 Chinese symbolism: Bi ding ru-yi 筆錠如意 (30 Jun - 12 Jul 1971) (NB24) (also NB20, NB23, & NB28)

Bi ding ru-yi 筆錠如意 is mentioned on several occasions in *HLM*. In Chapter 18, it is given as a present from Yuan-chun to her family during her family visit. In Chapter 42, it is given as a gift from Grandmother Jia to Grannie Liu, who is reminded to give the 筆錠如意 to the children at New Year as a symbol of good fortune. In Chapter 53, it is mentioned as one of the items among a trayful of New Year medallions.

Hawkes, in the entry in early July, 1971 (NB24), goes to great lengths to decode this riddling expression 筆錠如意 by drawing a picture of the ru-yi sceptre. He notes down the two expressions 筆錠如意 and 必定如意 side by side to illustrate that it is a sound rebus.

Fig. 2-1: NB24

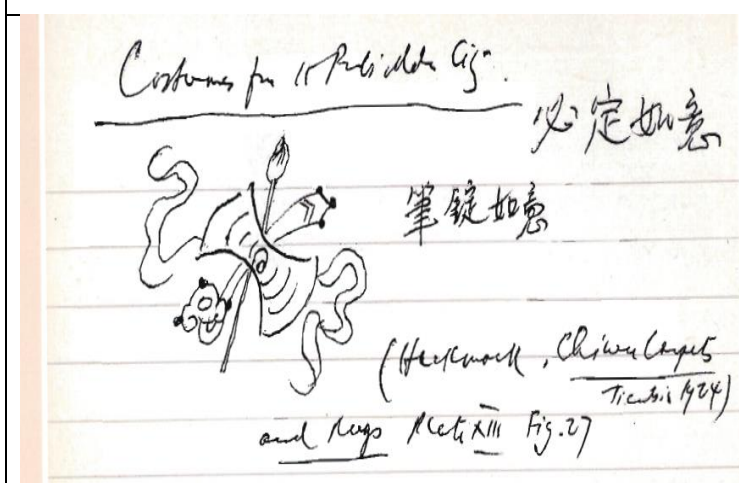


Fig.2-2: Hackmack, Adolf. *Chinese Carpets and Rugs*. New York: Dover Publications, 1973, p.24.¹



3 elements of 筆錠如意:

The picture which Hawkes draws on NB24 demonstrates that 筆錠如意 is made up of 3 elements, a sceptre, a writing brush, and an ingot / uncoined silver. These are described in Adolf Hackmack's book entitled *Chinese carpets and rugs* ¹ and in other related works, on which Hawkes' picture is based.

筆 means writing brush ²

錠 means an ingot /uncoined silver ¹ (or ink cake ^{2, 3})

- "Chinese ink is a mixture of a form of carbon with glue, and is usually prepared in sticks and cakes. Some of them are finely decorated" ²

如意 means the sceptre

- a curved decorative object, which is regarded as a symbol of power and good fortune in Chinese folklore. ¹
- the sceptre is also described as a symbol of ministerial authority.⁴ (see Fig.2-6 on p.36)

Sound rebus

The expression 筆錠如意 works like a pun and as a rebus through the use of homophones or near homophones, different characters which are pronounced in the same or a similar way. 筆 is close to the sound of 必. By replacing 筆 with 必, 筆錠如意 becomes 必定如意. Thus 筆錠如意 is associated with 必定如意, as a symbol of success and good fortune, which is illustrated as follows:

Reference sources Hawkes consults:

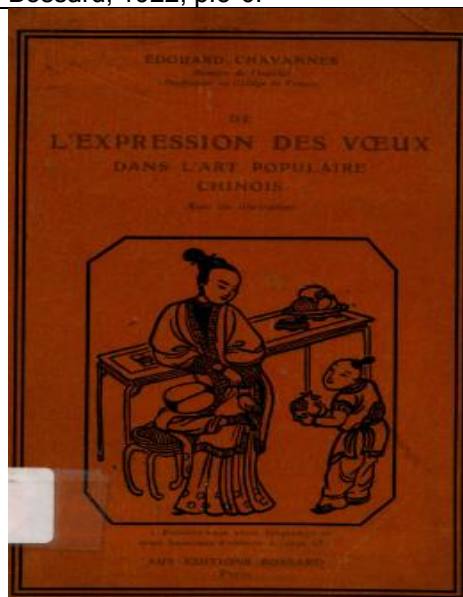
The sound rebus of 筆錠如意 is described in a number of books Hawkes mentions in the *Notebooks* :

- “The Symbol of Success (*pi-ting-ju-i*,) ... is represented by the sceptre, a piece of uncoined silver (the Tael) and a writing brush. This symbol is also a sound rebus.” ¹ (see Fig. 2-4 on p.34)
- “A brush, Gilded Ink Cake, and Scepter form a Rebus meaning May Your Wishes be Fulfilled” ³ (see Fig. 2-5 on p.35)
- “The descriptive phrase, brush, ingot, and scepter, *pi ting ju i*, by substituting homophones for the first two characters, becomes “May everything certainly be as (I) desire.” ⁵
- “A brush, an ink cake, and the so-called ju-i scepter (*pi ting ju-i*), if spoken, may mean “May things be fixed according to your wish.” ⁶

- In addition to the above, Hawkes refers to Chavannes,⁷ a famous French Sinologist and prominent early figure in East Asian studies. The relevant sections I have traced, as follows: (see Fig. 2-3 on p.32)

Chavannes, Édouard. <i>De l'expression des vœux dans l'art populaire chinois</i> . Paris: Bossard, 1922, p.5-6. ⁷	Chavannes, Édouard. <i>The Five Happinesses: Symbolism in Chinese Popular Art</i> . Translated by Elaine Spaulding Atwood. New York: Weatherhill, 1973, p.18-19. ⁸
“Un troisième mode d’expression consiste à figurer des mots au moyen d’images qui suggèrent la prononciation de ces mots; c’est le procédé le plus usuel du rébus.”	“A third means of expression consists of indicating words by using images that suggest the pronunciations of these words, this being the ordinary device of the rebus.”
“un de ces sceptres d’honneur qui portent le nom de <i>jou-i</i> ; l’expression <i>jou-i</i> signifie <<Qu’il en soit comme vous le désirez>>,”	“one of those scepters of honor known as <i>ju-i</i> 如意. The expression <i>ju-i</i> means “May it be as you wish,” or “According to your wishes.”
“le sceptre a pour nom <i>jou i</i> 如意, c’est-à-dire << conforme à vos désirs>>.”	“the scepter has the name <i>ju-i</i> 如意, that is “as you wish.”
“un <<lingot d’or>> <i>ting</i> 錠 et un <<sceptre>> <i>jou-i</i> donneront la formule <i>i ting jou i</i> 一定如意>> Qu’il en soit certainement suivant vos désirs>>.”	“an ingot of gold, <i>ting</i> 錠, and a scepter, <i>ju-i</i> 如意, indicate the formula <i>i ting ju-i</i> 一定如意, “May it surely be according to your wishes.”

Fig. 2-3: Chavannes, Édouard. *De l'expression des vœux dans l'art populaire chinois*. Paris: Bossard, 1922, p.5-6. ⁷



Un troisième mode d'expression consiste à figurer des mots au moyen d'images qui suggèrent la prononciation de ces mots; c'est le procédé le plus usuel du rébus. Une amulette du Cabinet des médailles (n° 29) présente (fig. 1) sur une de ses faces

une hallebarde, une pierre sonore et un de ces sceptres d'honneur qui portent le nom de *jou-i*; l'expression *jou-i* signifie « Qu'il en soit comme vous le désirez »,



Fig. 1.

« A vos souhaits ». La solution du rébus nous est donnée sur le revers de la pièce où nous lisons les mots *ki k'ing jou i* 吉慶如意 « Que votre bonne chance et votre bonne fortune soient telles que vous les désirez ». La « hallebarde » *ki* 戟 suggère l'idée du mot homophone *ki* 吉 « bonne chance »; la « pierre sonore » *k'ing* 磬 est l'équivalent phonétique du mot *k'ing* 慶 « bonne fortune »; enfin le sceptre a pour nom *jou i* 如意, c'est-à-dire « conforme à vos désirs ». Le même rébus se retrouve sur une illustration d'une édition populaire d'un recueil de contes appelé *Leao tchai tche i*; on voit sur la table d'un lettré un vase en forme d'éléphant contenant une

p.6



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.

tinue ». Puis c'est la « hallebarde » et la « pierre sonore » *ki k'ing* 戟磬 que nous avons déjà trouvées sur l'amulette et qui ont le sens de 吉慶 « Bonne chance et bonne fortune ». Enfin un « lingot d'or » *ting* 錠 et un « sceptre » *jou-i* donneront la formule *i ting jou i* 一定如意 « Qu'il en soit certainement suivant vos désirs ». — Une « bouteille » *p'ing* 瓶, une « selle » *ngan* 鞍 et un « sceptre » *jou-i* donneront la phrase 平安如意 « Ayez une tranquillité conforme à vos désirs ».

Incorporated footnote

Based on NB24, Hawkes describes 如意 as “Heart’s desire” and provides an incorporated footnote explaining 筆錠如意 as follows:

“a design showing an ingot, a writing-brush and a sceptre (which in the riddling rebus-language used by the makers of such objects meant ‘All your heart’s desire’)”

(P I, 18, 372)

“a golden ‘Heart’s Desire’ medallion with a device showing an ingot, a writing brush, and a sceptre.”

(P II, 42, 330-331)

“medallions with ‘heart’s desire’ rebus patterns of ingot, brush and sceptre”

(P II, 53, 557)

We may observe the different interpretations of 錠, which may mean , an ingot (Cammann ⁵) uncoined silver (Adolf ¹), or ink cake (Benjamin ², Hawley ³). As they all sound the same, they are applicable to the sound rebus.

Hawkes renders 錠 as an ingot, preferring Cammann’s interpretation.

Pictures on Chinese symbolism and 筆錠如意

Hawkes consults a large number of reference on Chinese symbolism, as shown by the list of citations on NB20-28. One source of these is drawn from “a letter from TK Cheng” (i.e. the renowned archaeologist, Zheng Dekun (Cheng Te-kun 鄭德坤) ⁹ (NB20) . The following is a gallery of images on bi ding-ru-yi 筆錠如意 and Chinese symbolism based on Hawkes’ sources, which both aids the understanding of the sound rebus and bears testimony to Hawkes’ resourcefulness.

CHINESE CARPETS AND RUGS

symbols. In Fig. 25 the bat is depicted with the peach, in which combination the meaning reads "Happiness and Long Life united" (⁴³ *fu-shou-shuang-ch'üan*). Combined with a tuning stone (Fig. 21) the meaning is "Happiness and Blessing" (⁴⁴ *fu-ch'ing*). A favourite ornament is that shown in Fig. 26, five bats surrounding the character *shou* (⁴⁵ *wu fu p'êng shou*) meaning the five great blessings: Happiness, Wealth, Peace, Virtue and Longevity.

The Symbol of Success (⁴⁶ *pi-ting-ju-i*) Fig. 27, is represented by the sceptre (Fig. 16) a piece of uncoined silver (the Tael) and writing brush. This symbol is also a sound rebus.

The Three Fruits (⁴⁷ *fu-shou-san-tuo*), Fig. 28, are the "Fragrant Fingers of Buddha", the Peach and the Pomegranate. The Fragrant Fingers of Buddha (⁴⁸ *Fo-shou*) is a species of citron which, instead of being spheroid at both ends like the ordinary fruit, is split up one end into a bunch of tapering off-shoots, which, seen from the side, resemble a grasping hand. The peach has already been mentioned (see page 20). The pomegranate (⁴⁹ *shih-liu*) signifies numerous progeny. When these symbols are united, the three fruits mean "happiness, longevity and numerous male issue".

The Butterfly (⁵⁰ *hu f'ieh*) becomes a sound rebus for longevity by taking the last character for (⁵¹ *f'ieh*), length of days. Fish (⁵² *yü*) by the same process is made to mean (⁵³ *yü*) abundance.

⁴³ 福壽雙全 ⁴⁴ 福慶 ⁴⁵ 五蝠捧壽

⁴⁶ 必定如意 ⁴⁷ 福壽三多

⁴⁸ 佛手 ⁴⁹ 柘榴 ⁵⁰ 蝴蝶 ⁵¹ 耄 ⁵² 魚 ⁵³ 餘

***** 24 *****

PLATE XIII



Fig. 24
The bat.



Fig. 25
Bat and peach.



Fig. 26

Five bats, surrounding the character *Shou*.



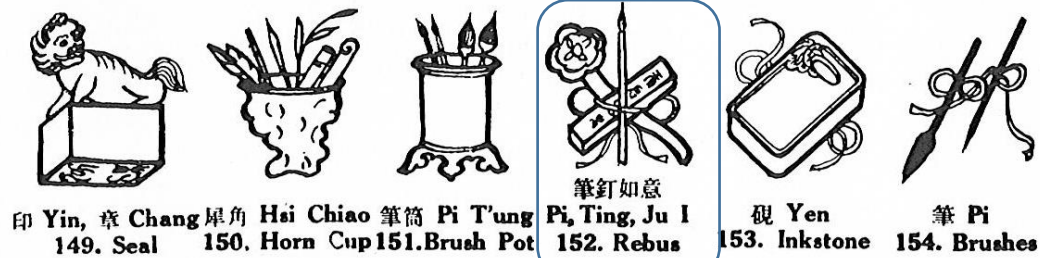
Fig. 27
Sceptre, writing brush &
uncoined silver, symbol
of success.



Fig. 28
The Three Fruits.

Fig. 2-5: Hawley, Willis M. *Chinese Folk Designs: A Collection of 300 Cut-paper Designs Used for Embroidery Together with 160 Chinese Art Symbols And Their Meanings*. New York: Dover Publications, 1971, c1949 (unpaginated).³

THE HUNDRED ANTIQUES AND OTHER SYMBOLS



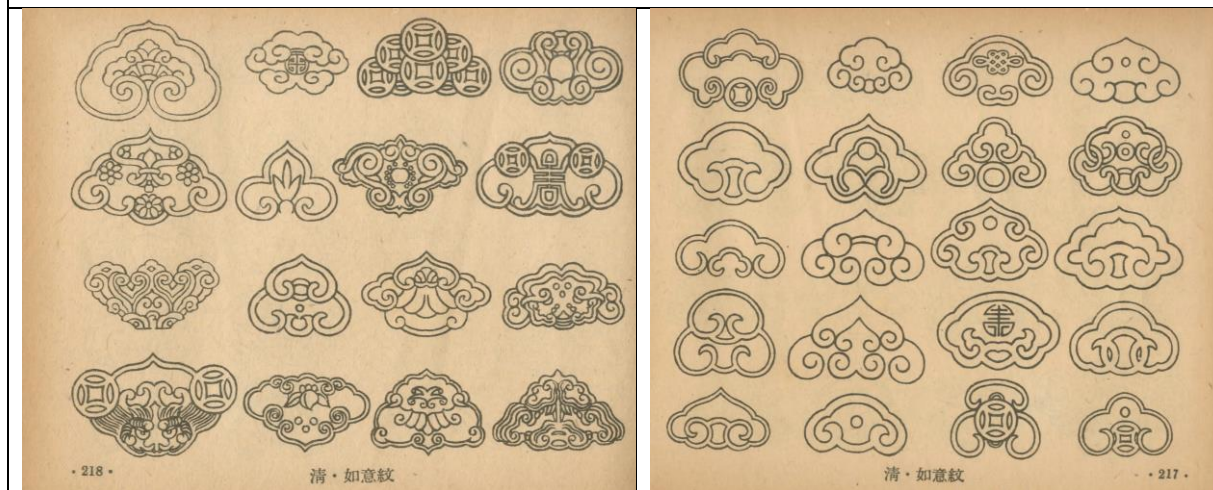
- 149. The Seal is the symbol of Power and Authority. The Red Impressions cure diseases when applied to open sores.
- 150. The Rhinoceros Horn Cup symbolizes Happiness.
- 151. A Brush Holder indicates Scholarly Attainments.
- 152. A Brush, Gilded Ink Cake, and Scepter form a Rebus meaning May your Wishes be Fulfilled.
- 153. A Stone for grinding Ink is an Attribute of a Scholar.
- 154. Writing Brushes are Attributes of a Scholar.

Fig. 2-6: Vuilleumier, Bernard. *Symbolism of Chinese Imperial Ritual Robes: The Art of Silk Weaving in China*. London: The China Institute, 1939, p.25. ⁴

A Study of Chinese Symbolism			
Symbols.			Symbolism.
(22) The bat	-	-	Happiness. The word <i>fu</i> meaning a bat, has the same sound as <i>fu</i> , signifying happiness.
(23) The horn of the unicorn	-		Confucianism: a happy presage for the Emperor.
(24) The five-clawed dragon	-		The Imperial Dragon, the infinite supernatural imperial power.
The four-clawed dragon	-		Spiritual power.
(25) The eight Buddhistic emblems of glorious augury:			
(1) The parasol	-	-	Charity.
(2) Fish	-	-	Tenacity.
(3) The sacred vase	-	-	Ceremonial.
(4) The lotus	-	-	Purity (the lotus is also the emblem of marriage).
(5) The sea-shell	-	-	The appeal to wisdom.
(6) The mystic diagram	-	-	Infinity, eternity.
(7) The baldacchino	-	-	Spiritual authority.
(8) The Wheel of the Law			Infinite changing (from which is derived the swastika).
(26) The eight emblems of the Taoist Immortals:			
(1) The fan	-	-	Delicacy of feeling (infuses life again into the dead).
(2) The bamboo tube	-	-	Longevity.
(3) The magic sabre	-	-	Superhuman power, magic.
(4) The pair of castanets	-	-	Music.
(5) The magic gourd	-	-	Medicine, science of magic.
(6) The flute	-	-	Harmony.
(7) The basket of flowers	-	-	Old age, long life.
(8) The lotus-flower	-	-	Feminine genius, purity.
(27) The crane	-	-	The sacred bird that communicates with the Divinity.
(28) The tiger	-	-	Strength, courage, physical power.
(29) The hand of Buddha (fruit)	-	-	Divine protection.
(30) The lotus root	-	-	Indissolubility.
(31) The pæony	-	-	Prosperity.
(32) The sceptre	-	-	Ministerial authority.
(33) The taël (piece of money)	-	-	Power, riches.
(34) The lozenge	-	-	Victory.
(35) The musical stone	-	-	Ministerial emblem.
(36) The pearl	-	-	Pure intentions, the heart of Buddha.
(37) Groups of pearls	-	-	Paradise.
(38) Clouds	-	-	The benefits of rain, fertility.

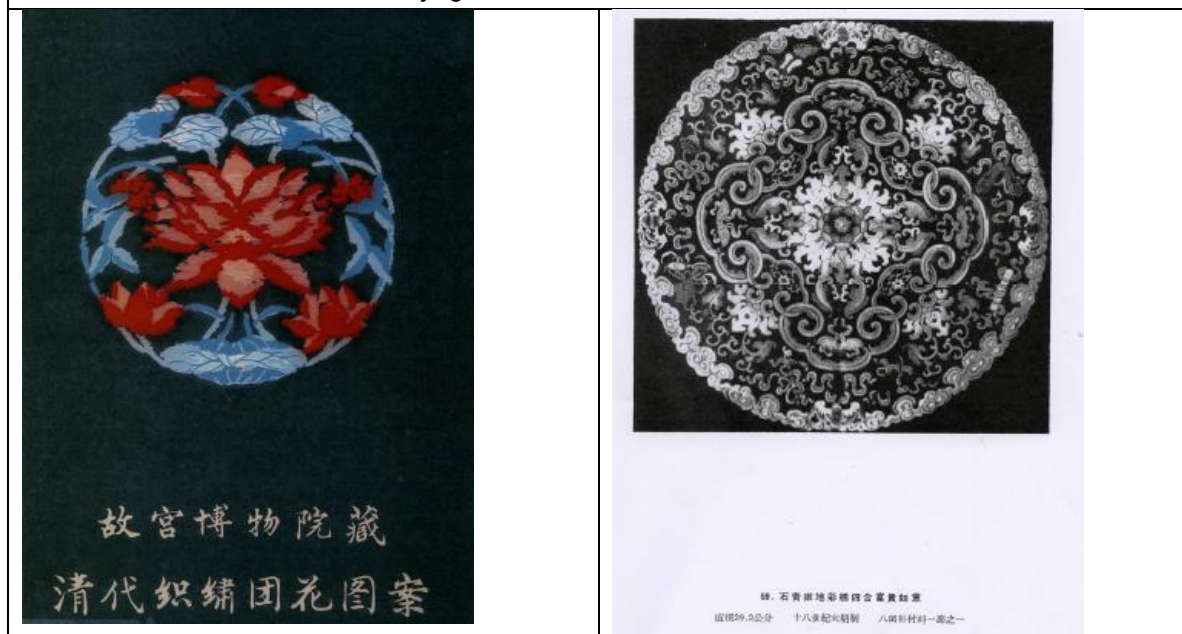
The various designs of ru-yi 如意 are illustrated in *Zhongguo tu'an ji* 中國圖案集 by Wang Duan 王端 ¹⁰ as follows:

Fig. 2-7 Wang Duan 王端. *Zhongguo tu'an ji* 中國圖案集. Shanghai: Silian, 1954, pp.217-8. ¹⁰

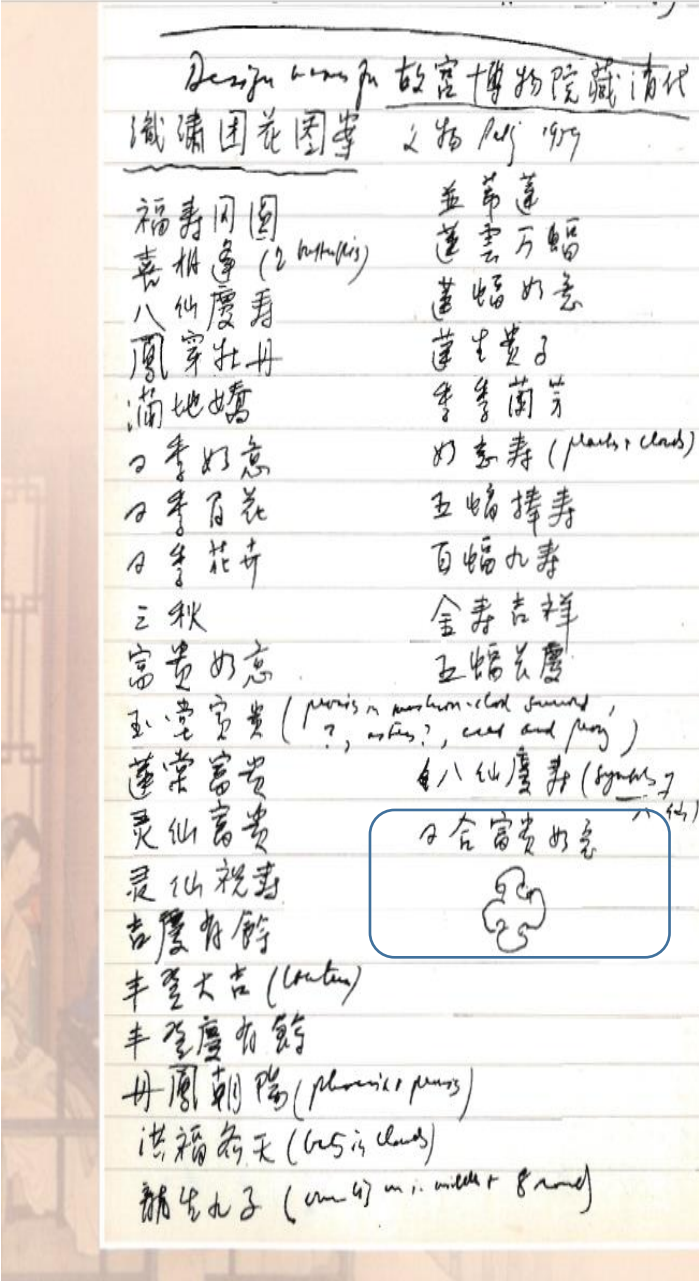


As shown on NB28, Hawkes consults the book, *Gugong bowuyuan cang Qingdai zhixiu tuanhua tu'an* 故宮博物院藏清代織繡團花圖案 ¹¹, and makes a skeleton drawing of ru-yi 如意 based on the picture on the right, No. 59 of the book: (see Fig. 2-9 on p.38)

Fig. 2-8 Gugong bowuyuan 故宮博物院. *Gugong bowuyuan cang Qingdai zhixiu tuanhua tu'an* 故宮博物院藏清代織繡團花圖案. Beijing: Wenwu, 1959 ¹¹



Hawkes carefully copies down on NB28 the list of items from the table of contents of the book, together with his skeleton drawing of ru-yi 如意. This is yet another interesting example of the painstaking care with which he uses his sources.

<p>Fig. 2-9: NB28</p> 	<p>Fig. 2-10 Gugong bowuyuan 故宮博物院. <i>Gugong bowuyuan cang Qingdai zhixiu tuanhua tu'an</i> 故宮博物院藏清代 織繡團花圖案. Beijing: Wenwu 1959. ¹¹</p> <table><tr><td>51. 柳綠緞地織金彩喜相逢</td><td>67. 明黃緞地彩綉丹鳳</td></tr><tr><td>52. 柳綠地織金彩喜相逢</td><td>68. 石青緞地彩綉雙鳳</td></tr><tr><td>53. 石青緞地彩綉喜相逢</td><td>69. 石青緞地彩綉鳳穿</td></tr><tr><td>54. 石青緞地彩綉喜相逢</td><td>70. 石青緞地彩綉鳳穿</td></tr><tr><td>55. 石青緞地彩綉喜相逢</td><td>71. 石青緞地彩綉鳳戴</td></tr><tr><td>56. 石青緞地彩綉喜相逢</td><td>72. 石青緞地彩綉丹鳳</td></tr><tr><td>57. 石青緞地彩綉八仙慶壽</td><td>73. 秋香緞地織金彩海</td></tr><tr><td>58. 石青緞地彩綉八仙慶壽</td><td>74. 石青緞地織金彩龍</td></tr><tr><td>59. 石青緞地彩綉四合富貴如意</td><td>75. 官綠緞地彩綉祥雲</td></tr><tr><td>60. 石青緞地彩綉六合同春</td><td>76. 秋香實地紗地彩綉</td></tr><tr><td>61. 秋香實地紗地彩綉吉慶有余</td><td>77. 明黃實地紗地彩綉</td></tr><tr><td>62. 石青緞地彩綉吉慶有余</td><td>78. 繡絲石青地雙龍夾</td></tr><tr><td>63. 繡絲石青地慶壽燈</td><td>79. 石青實地紗地繡綫</td></tr><tr><td>64. 石青緞地彩綉豐登大吉</td><td>80. 紫紫實地紗綉雙龍</td></tr><tr><td>65. 石青緞地彩綉五穀豐登吉慶有余</td><td>81. 石青緞地彩綉雙龍</td></tr><tr><td>66. 石青緞地彩綉早春豐登</td><td>82. 石青緞地緞朱珠正</td></tr></table> <p>彩色插頁： 石青緞地彩綉福壽同圓 紅青緞地彩綉喜相逢 柳綠緞地彩綉八仙慶壽 石青直徑地繡綫綉鳳穿牡丹</p>	51. 柳綠緞地織金彩喜相逢	67. 明黃緞地彩綉丹鳳	52. 柳綠地織金彩喜相逢	68. 石青緞地彩綉雙鳳	53. 石青緞地彩綉喜相逢	69. 石青緞地彩綉鳳穿	54. 石青緞地彩綉喜相逢	70. 石青緞地彩綉鳳穿	55. 石青緞地彩綉喜相逢	71. 石青緞地彩綉鳳戴	56. 石青緞地彩綉喜相逢	72. 石青緞地彩綉丹鳳	57. 石青緞地彩綉八仙慶壽	73. 秋香緞地織金彩海	58. 石青緞地彩綉八仙慶壽	74. 石青緞地織金彩龍	59. 石青緞地彩綉四合富貴如意	75. 官綠緞地彩綉祥雲	60. 石青緞地彩綉六合同春	76. 秋香實地紗地彩綉	61. 秋香實地紗地彩綉吉慶有余	77. 明黃實地紗地彩綉	62. 石青緞地彩綉吉慶有余	78. 繡絲石青地雙龍夾	63. 繡絲石青地慶壽燈	79. 石青實地紗地繡綫	64. 石青緞地彩綉豐登大吉	80. 紫紫實地紗綉雙龍	65. 石青緞地彩綉五穀豐登吉慶有余	81. 石青緞地彩綉雙龍	66. 石青緞地彩綉早春豐登	82. 石青緞地緞朱珠正
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2.1.2 Chinese symbolism: Ji qing you yu 吉慶有餘 (8-12 Jul 1971) (NB25) (also NB23, NB24 & NB26)

In addition to bi ding-ru-yi 筆錠如意, Yuan-chun's presents in Chapter 18 include, among others, ji qing you yu 吉慶有餘, which is also a sound rebus, as illustrated in the following:

戟磬有魚 = 吉慶有餘

戟 the halberd, is a homophone of ji 吉 (good luck)

磬 a stonechime, is a homophone of qing 慶 (good fortune)

有 have 魚 fish, is a homophone of 有餘 (plenty, abundance)

The phrase 戟磬有魚 thus becomes 吉慶有餘 (May your luck and your fortune be in abundance)

As with the translation of 筆錠如意, Hawkes explains 吉慶有餘 with an incorporated footnote in his translation:

“a design showing a stonechime flanked by a pair of little fish (carrying the rebus-message 'Blessings in abundance’)“ (R I, 18, 210) (P I, 18, 372)

Sources Hawkes consults:

Hawkes who was fluent in so many languages, refers to works in Japanese (Nozaki ¹²), French (Chavannes ⁷), English (Koehn ¹³, Cammann ⁵) and Chinese (Lin ¹⁴) respectively:

「戟に磬の兩頭より魚を下げたるものを懸け花瓶に挿したる圖」(Nozaki ¹²: see Fig. 2-18 on p.45)

“*ki k'ing jou i* 吉慶如意 <<Que votre bonne chance et votre bonne fortune soient telles que vous les désirez >>.” (Chavannes ⁷: see Fig. 2-11 on p.40)

“The Halberd is called chi 戟, the Sonorous Stone, ch'ing 磬, and the Fish, yü 魚. A picture of a Sonorous Stone and a Fish suspended from a Halberd reminds the Chinese of the differently written chi ch'ing yu yü 吉慶有餘, Abundance of Joy and Happiness.” (Koehn ¹³)

There is an illustration of 吉慶有餘 in Lin ¹⁴ (see Fig. 2-12 & 2-13 on p.42)

The following is a gallery of pictures illustrating Ji qing you yu 吉慶有餘 :

Hawkes refers to Chavannes.⁷ The relevant sections I have traced, as follows (NB23):

Fig. 2-11 Chavannes, Édouard. *De l'expression des vœux dans l'art populaire chinois*. Paris: Bossard, 1922, pp.5-6.⁷

usuel du rébus. Une amulette du Cabinet des médailles (n° 29) présente (fig. 1) sur une de ses faces une hallebarde, une pierre sonore et un de ces sceptres d'honneur qui portent le nom de *jou-i*; l'expression *jou-i* signifie « Qu'il en soit comme vous le désirez »,

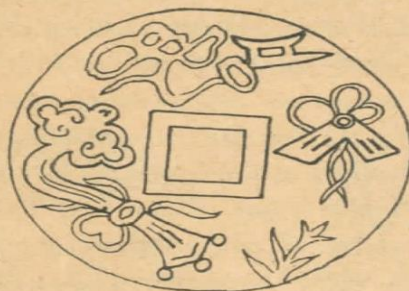


Fig. 1.

« A vos souhaits ». La solution du rébus nous est donnée sur le revers de la pièce où nous lisons les mots *ki k'ing jou i* 吉慶如意 « Que votre bonne chance et votre bonne fortune soient telles que vous les désirez ». La « hallebarde » *ki* 戟 suggère l'idée du mot homophone *ki* 吉 « bonne chance »; la « pierre sonore » *k'ing* 磬 est l'équivalent phonétique du mot *k'ing* 慶 « bonne fortune »; enfin le sceptre a pour



Fig. 2.

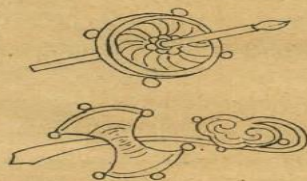


Fig. 3.

tinue ». Puis c'est la « hallebarde » et la « pierre sonore » *ki k'ing* 戟磬 que nous avons déjà trouvées sur l'amulette et qui ont le sens de 吉慶 « Bonne chance et bonne fortune ». Enfin un « lingot d'or » *ting* 錠 et un « sceptre » *jou-i* donneront la formule *i ting jou i* 一定如意 « Qu'il en soit certainement suivant vos désirs ». — Une « bouteille » *p'ing* 瓶, une « selle » *ngan* 鞍 et un « sceptre » *jou-i* donneront la phrase 平安如意 « Ayez une tranquillité conforme à vos désirs ».

Chavannes, Édouard. <i>De l'expression des vœux dans l'art populaire chinois</i> . Paris: Bossard, 1922, pp.5-6. ⁷	Chavannes, Édouard. <i>The Five Happinesses: Symbolism in Chinese Popular Art</i> . Translated by Elaine Spaulding Atwood. New York: Weatherhill, 1973, p.19. ⁸
“... Une amulette du Cabinet des médailles (n 29) présente (fig. 1) sur une de ses faces une hallebarde, une pierre sonore et un de ces sceptres d'honneur qui portent le nom de <i>jou-i</i> , l'expression <i>jou-i</i> signifie <<Qu'il en soit comme vous le désirez>>, <<A vos souhaits>>.”	“An amulet in the Musée Guimet presents on one of its faces a halberd, <i>chi</i> 戟; a sonorous stone, <i>ch'ing</i> 磬; and one of those scepters of honor known as <i>ju-i</i> 如意. The expression <i>ju-i</i> means “May it be as you wish,” or “According to your wishes.”
<p>“La solution du rébus nous est donnée sur le revers de la pièce où nous lisons les mots <i>ki k'ing jou i</i> 吉慶如意 <<Que votre bonne chance et votre bonne fortune soient telles que vous les désirez>>.</p> <p>La <<hallebarde>> <i>ki</i> 戟 suggère l'idée du mot homophone <i>ki</i> 吉 <<bonne chance >>; la <<pierre sonore >> <i>k'ing</i> 磬 est l'équivalent phonétique du mot <i>k'ing</i> 慶 << bonne fortune >>; “</p>	<p>“The solution of the rebus is given us on the reverse of the piece, where we read the words <i>chi ch'ing ju-i</i> 吉慶如意, “May your luck and your fortune be as you wish. “</p> <p>The halberd, <i>chi</i> 戟, suggests the idea of the homophone <i>chi</i> 吉, which means “good luck. ” The sonorous stone, <i>ch'ing</i> 磬, is the phonetic equivalent of the word <i>ch'ing</i> 慶, “good fortune.”</p>
“Puis c'est la <<hallebarde >> et la << pierre sonore >> <i>ki k'ing</i> 戟磬 que nous avons déjà trouvées sur l'amulette et qui ont le sens de 吉慶 <<Bonne chance et bonne fortune>>.”	“Then there are the halberd, <i>chi</i> 戟, and the sonorous stone, <i>ch'ing</i> 磬, which we have already found on the amulet and which convey, again through similarity of sound, the meaning of <i>chi ch'ing</i> 吉慶, “Good luck and good fortune.”

Hawkes' sketches (NB25) are drawn from the pictures illustrating 吉慶有餘 and other auspicious motifs from Lin Hanjie's *Minjian lanyin huabu tu'an* 民間藍印花布圖案.¹⁴ The picture on the left (Fig. 2-12) is the basis for Hawkes' description, "a design showing a stonechime flanked by a pair of little fish (carrying the rebus-message 'Blessings in abundance')". (P I, 18, 372) This is another example of the way in which Hawkes, the translator, liked to visualize the words he was translating. This leads to his drawings in the *Notebooks*.

Fig. 2-12: NB25

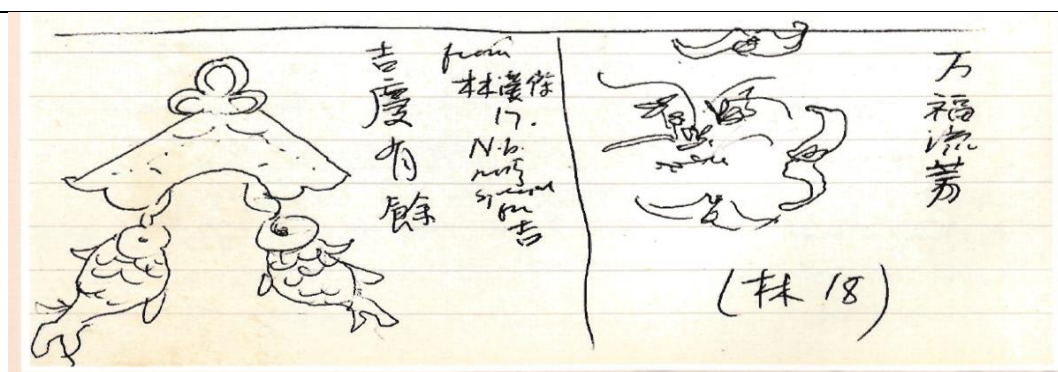


Fig. 2-13 Lin Hanjie 林漢傑. *Minjian lanyin huabu tu'an* 民間藍印花布圖案. Beijing: Renmin meishu, 1954, pp.17-8.¹⁴


 <p>一七、吉慶有餘 (花布)</p>	 <p>一八、萬福流芳 (花布)</p>
<p>吉慶有餘 Blessings in Abundance</p>	<p>萬福留芳 Countless Blessings Forever</p>

Fig. 2-14: NB26

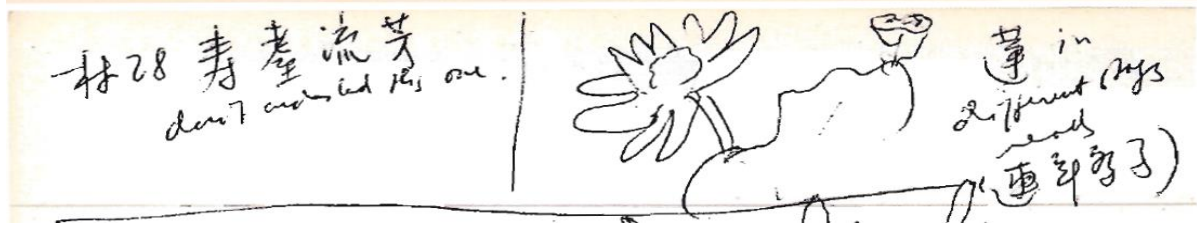
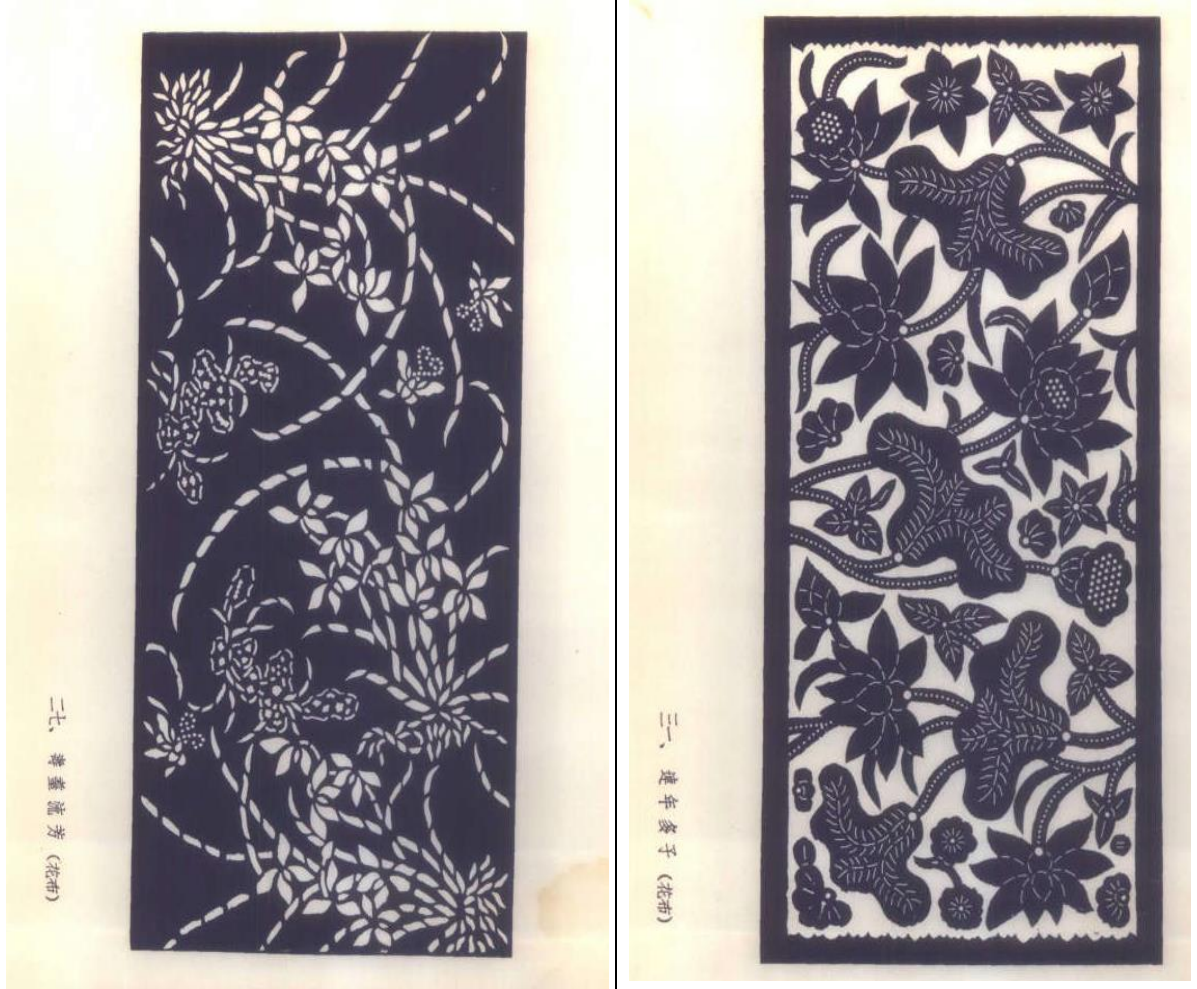


Fig. 2-15: Lin Hanjie 林漢傑. *Minjian lanyin huabu tu'an* 民間藍印花布圖案. Beijing: Renmin meishu, 1954, pp.27, 31. ¹⁴



寿臺留芳 May you live a long time, until you are seventy or eighty

蓮年多子 May the coming years bring you many sons

Fig. 2-16: NB26

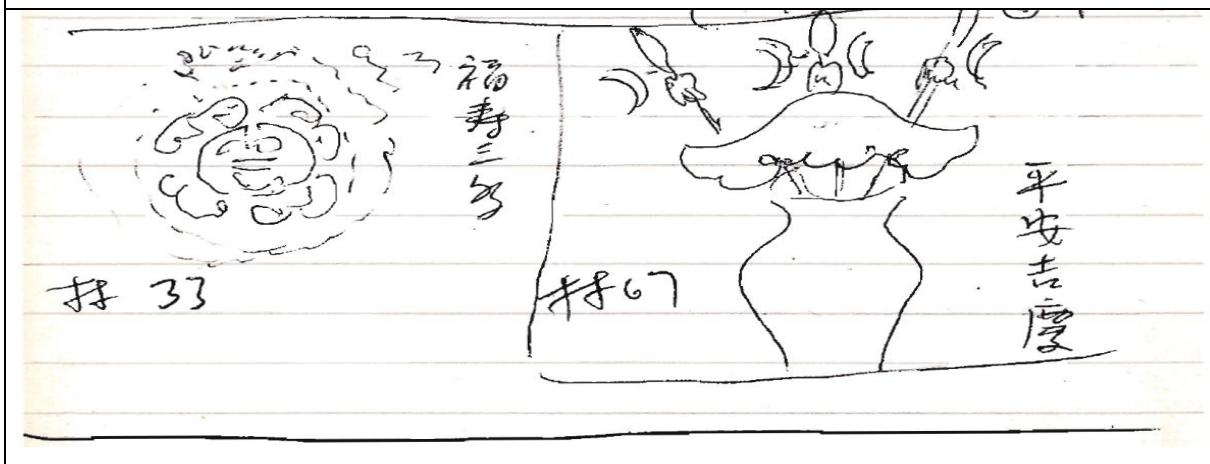




Fig. 2-17: Lin Hanjie 林漢傑. *Minjian lanyin huabu tu'an* 民間藍印花布圖案. Beijing: Renmin meishu, 1954, pp.33, 67. ¹⁴

	
<p>福寿三多 Blessings, Longevity and many offspring</p>	<p>平安吉慶 Peace, Good luck and Good Fortune</p>

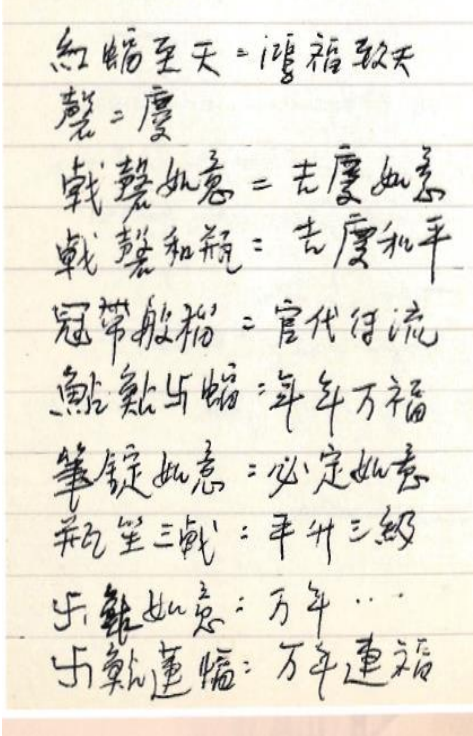
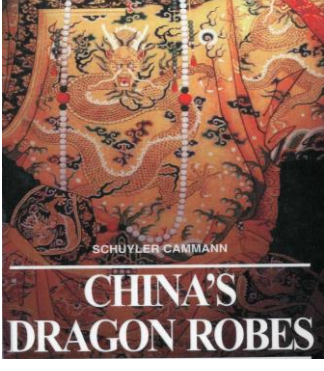
吉慶有餘 is also illustrated and explained by Nozaki ¹² as follows (NB23):

Fig. 2-18: Nozaki, Nobuchika 野崎誠近. *Kissho zuan kaidai* 吉祥圖案解題. Tianjin: Zhongguo tuchan, 1928, pp.543-5. ¹²

 <p>吉慶有餘 一五九</p>	 <p>吉慶有餘 一五九</p>
<p>吉慶有餘 一五九</p> <p>戟に磐の兩頭より魚を下けたるものを懸け花瓶に挿したる圖 又は 磬を打つ小童と魚の張子を持つ小童と戯れ舞ふ圖</p> <p>戟 (Gai) と吉 (Chi) と同音異義。 磐は磬と同音同義。 (Chi-ang) 魚は餘と同音同義。 (Chi-ang) 應用。家具、什器、文具、建築等に。 又慶事用品として、此の形の押繪を用ふる事多し。 (金照) 附記。門對此の四字を多く見受く。 魚は餘と同音同義なるのみならず (金照) 漢朝の洗面器の底に一對の魚を描き、側に大吉 (祥) の三字を書きたるより、後入「祥禧五福五子」漢洗盤魚大吉と對聯になし (俗に一對の魚を描き「双魚吉慶」と稱す) 結婚用品等に廣く應用す (金照) また魚鱗を相交して模様となし、鯛紋又は魚鱗と稱し (金照) 什器、衣料、建築等の圖案に用ふ。 押繪細工にて本題の吉慶有餘と、事事如意 (金照) との形をつなぎ合はせ、花瓶に挿込みたるものを、嫁入道具の内に加ふる風習あり。吉慶有餘、平安如意 (金照) 平陸三級 (金照) といやが上にも新夫婦の前庭を祝する寓意なり。 また、戟に磐を挿したるを花瓶に挿し「平安吉慶」と題するもあり。</p>	<p>Highlights of the image (on the left) as follows:</p> <p>Two pictures illustrating 吉慶有餘:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A stonechime with a fish on either side, and suspended from a halberd inserted into a vase; - Two children playing with one holding a toy fish, and the other holding a stonechime; <p>The sound rebus:</p> <p>戟, the halberd, is a homophone of ji 吉, alluding to good luck;</p> <p>磬, a stonechime, is a homophone of qing 慶, alluding to good fortune;</p> <p>魚 fish, a homophone of 餘, alluding to plenty, and abundance;</p>

Examples of sound rebus (NB23)

Hawkes lists on NB23 the following sound rebuses based on Cammann. ⁵ Though it does not include the expression 吉慶有餘, it provides relevant expressions of sound rebus for useful reference:

<p>Fig. 2-19: NB23</p>	<p>Fig. 2-20: Cammann, Schuyler. <i>China's Dragon Robes</i>. Chicago: Art Media Resources, 2001. ⁵</p>
 <p>紅蝠至天 = 鴻福致天 磬 = 慶 戟磬如意 = 吉慶如意 戟磬和瓶 = 吉慶和平 冠帶般櫛 = 官代傳流 年年萬福 筆錠如意 = 必定如意 瓶生三戟 = 平升三級 年如意 = 年年... 年蓮福 = 年年連福</p>	<p>GLOSSARY 213</p> <p>6. SYMBOLS AND DECORATIVE MOTIFS USED ON THE ROBES</p> <p>ch'ang-ch'un-hua 長春花 ch'eng lung 正龍 chi 戟 [吉] chi ch'ing ju i 戟磬如意 [吉慶如意] chi ch'ing ho p'ing 戟磬合瓶 [吉慶和平]</p> <p>p.214</p> <p>hung fu chih t'ien 紅蝠至天 [鴻福致天] i ting shêng san kuei-chi 一錠生三貴戟 [一定升三貴] ju-i 如意 kuan tai ch'uan liu 冠帶船櫛 [官代傳流]</p>
	<p>p.215</p> <p>nien 年 [年] nien nien wan fu 年年萬福 [年年萬福] pa chi-hsiang 八吉祥 pa pao 八寶 P'êng-lai Shan 蓬萊山 pi chung 筆中 [必中] pi ting ju i 筆錠如意 [必定如意] p'ing shêng san chi 瓶生(筭)三戟 [平升三級]</p>

Annotations of the sound rebuses (NB23-24):

The following presents the annotations for the sound rebuses which Hawkes lists on NB23 . All of these are taken from Cammann ⁵ (except 冠帶般榴 quoted from Kohen ¹³):

紅蝠至天=鴻福致天

“ ‘Red bats attaining the sky’ (*hung fu chih t’ien*), by substituting two characters of the same sound for the first two words, becomes ‘Vast happiness reaching Heaven.’ ”

磬=慶

“the halberd or poleaxe, *chi*, is a pun on the word for “good luck,” while the musical stone, *ch’ing*, was a pun on “good fortune,” just as it was when used with the bat.”

戟磬如意 = 吉慶如意

“the *ju-i* scepter was added to this combination, extending the meaning to express “May (I, the wearer) have as much good luck and good fortune as (I) desire,” *chi ch’ing ju-i*. ”

戟磬和瓶 = 吉慶和平

“... the descriptive phrase “halberd(s) and musical stone, together with a vase,” *chi ch’ing ho p’ing*. After replacing the first, second, and fourth characters by homophones, and taking another meaning for the third, we get the hope, “(May I have) good luck, good fortune, and tranquility.”

冠帶般榴=官代傳流

“ ... a Pomegranate, an official’s hat, and girdle, on a boat are given to men. The official’s hat, *kuan* 冠, and the girdle, *tai* 帶, suggest a post of high honours; the boat, *ch’uan* 般, brings the hope that this may be hereditary, *ch’uan* 傳. The expression is *kuan tai ch’uan liu* 冠帶傳流.”¹³

“the symbolic meaning of the Pomegranate’s many-seeded fruit, Progeny.” ¹³

筆錠如意=必定如意 (also shown in Section 2.1.1 on p.30)

“The descriptive phrase, “brush, ingot, and scepter,” *pi ting ju i*, by substituting homophones for the first two characters, becomes “May everything certainly be as (I) desire.”

瓶笙三戟 = 平升三級

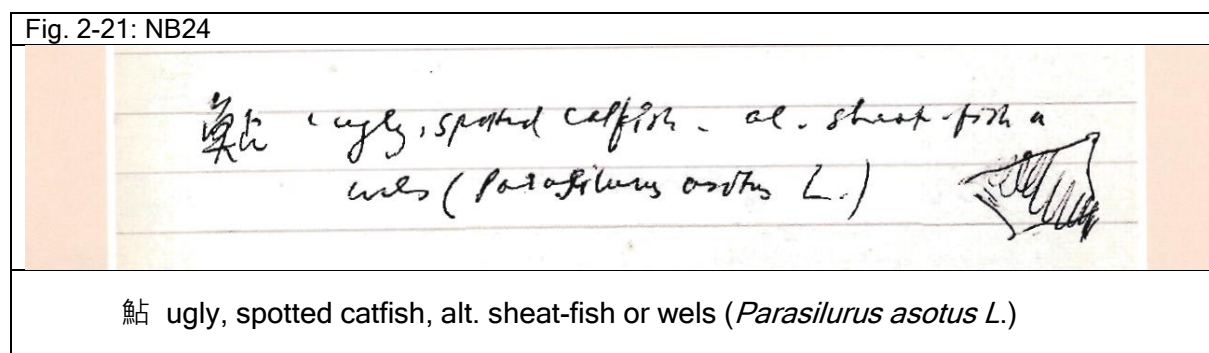
“*p'ing shêng san chi*, “three halberds rising from a vase.” ... by replacing the first, second, and fourth characters with homophones, this gives an expression of ambition, “May (I) rise without opposition three degrees in official rank.” Sometimes, to make this rebus more easily understood, a musical instrument called a *shêng* is pictured beside the vase to convey more explicitly the second word of the phrase.”

鮎鮎𪛗蝠 = 年年萬福

“This was not the handsome gold-fish or carp so frequently used to make a rebus for prosperity or abundance, but an ugly, spotted catfish (*Parasilurus asotus* L.), otherwise known as the sheat-fish, or wels.”

“This was used in the rebuses because its Chinese name *nien* was a pun on the word for year. Thus we find ... a pair of these catfish on a swastika-shaped background with a number of bats, ... “May [I] year by year have ten thousand happiness,” *nien nien wan fu*.”

Based on Cammann’s paragraph above on 鮎鮎𪛗蝠, Hawkes explains 鮎 on NB24, and adds a skeleton drawing of the fish as follows:



𪛗鮎如意 = 萬年如意

“... catfish and swastika along with the *ju-i* jewel, we have the wish, “For ten thousand years may everything be as (I) desire,” *wan nien ju i*.”

𪛗鮎連蝠 = 萬年連福

“Taking one *nien* fish with its swastika and the lotus and bat, we get the pun phrase, “For ten thousand years may (I) have continuous happiness,” *wan nien lien fu*.”

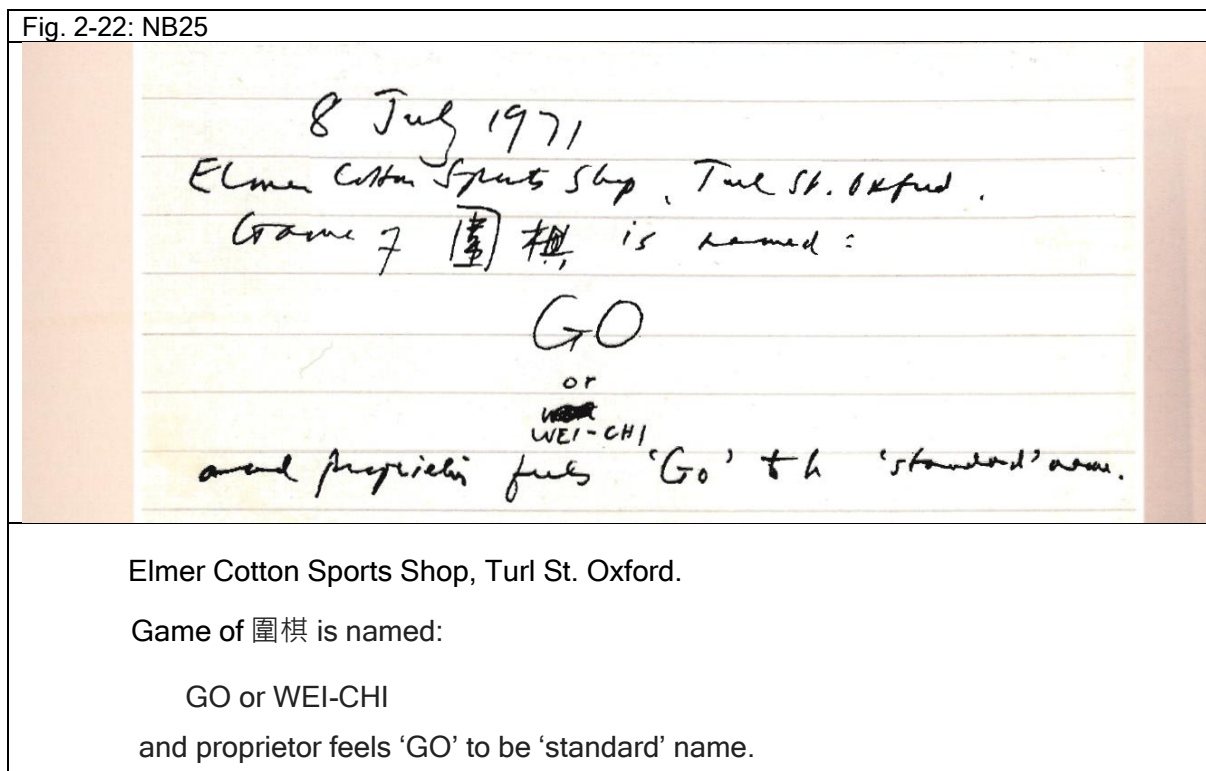
All of these examples illustrate the exhaustive care with which Hawkes used traditional scholarship on Chinese symbolism to help him with the knotty problem of translating the punning rebus.

2.1.3 Consulting Real Life Usage: Racing GO 圍棋 (8 Jul 1971) (NB25)

In Chapter 19, Bao-yu's maids are playing 圍棋 during the Chinese New Year. (R I, 19, 212)

On NB25, Hawkes writes as follows:

Fig. 2-22: NB25



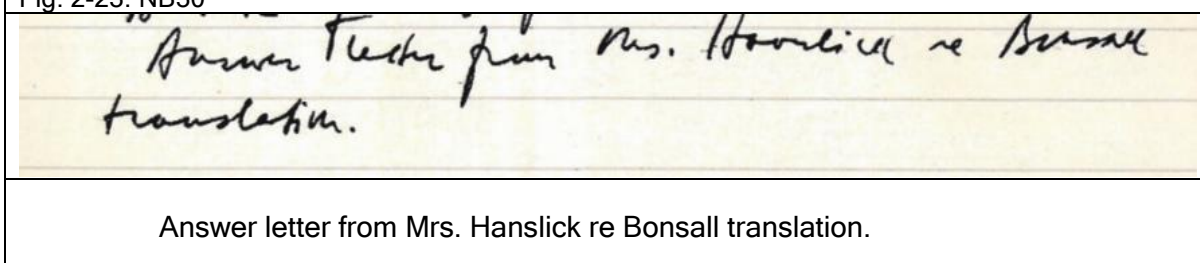
This is an example illustrating how Hawkes works, how he bases his translation decisions on the real, everyday life of his English-language readers. Hawkes lived in Oxford, and Elmer Cotton Sports Shop in Turl Street was an old-established shop in Oxford where people went to buy games and sports equipment. He took the trouble to go to the games shop to find out more about 圍棋 and its common name.

As a result of this excursion, Hawkes renders 圍棋 with the Japanese word, GO. (P I, 19, 375)

2.1.4 Existing Translation of Novel: Bramwell Seaton Bonsall (28 Aug 1971) (NB30)

On NB30, Hawkes notes the following:

Fig. 2-23: NB30



The Rev. Bramwell Seaton Bonsall (1886-1968) was a missionary in China (1911-1926). His translation was the first attempt by a westerner to make a translation of the entire text of *HLM*.

15

Apart from a reference to answering a letter from Mrs. Hanslick of Penguins about Bonsall's work, Hawkes makes no mention of this in his *Notebooks*, so presumably does not regard it as of any great value. At this point, Penguins were considering whether or not to publish this existing translation by Bonsall and abandon the Hawkes-Minford contract.

Earlier in 1967, Hawkes had reviewed the Bonsall translation for Oxford University Press director, Peter Sutcliffe.

This review was found by Minford in June 2019 in the Penguin Classics Archive, housed in the Bristol University Library, Special Collections.¹⁵ It has never been made public before. It is of enormous significance since it spells out Hawkes' thoughts on translating *HLM* three years before he undertook the task himself. This hitherto unknown primary source document is the most eloquent personal statement of Hawkes' underlying approach to the task of translating the *Stone*, worth any number of theoretical treatises on the subject.

EXTRACT FROM LETTER TO PETER SUTCLIFFE OF CLARENDON PRESS, 31 DEC 1967

..... I've given a great deal of anguished thought to Bonsall's Red Chamber Dream. One accepts that this is a very long novel; that B. has translated it all I've tried to persuade myself that something could be done with it if B would submit to rigorous editing; but the more I look at it, the more I am convinced that nothing more than total rewriting would do.

..... The gist of what I am about to say is that Bonsall and his translation are neither of them up to standard, and it seems to me senseless cruelty to spell this out to someone who has just completed what is by any standards an heroic task.

It isn't, as translations from the Chinese go, a particularly bad one. It's just that B as a translator is quite unequal to so great a job. Why did he have to pick on RCD? It is a wonderful novel – the best ever written in Chinese – and calls for both scholarship and sensibility in the translator if it is to come through as great literature. And this is what it utterly and completely fails to do in B's Victorian-schoolmasterish, amateurish, unliterary, old-fashioned, translatorish, unidiomatic rendering.

Let me try to analyze this a bit. One can excuse a translator for muffing the poems, in which RCD abounds, and the passages of difficult 'purple' writing. But the novel is remarkable for containing a vast amount of absolutely faithful speech, and it is here, in this quite basic part of the job, that B doubly disqualifies himself (1) because of the inadequacy of his knowledge of colloquial Pekingese, (2) because of the inadequacy of his feeling for colloquial English. On page after page where the Chinese makes you chuckle because it is exactly the way people talk, B's characters utter a sort of non-language which has never, since the world began, issued from the mouth of man.

e.g. p.233

Li Kuei said: I am not afraid, Sir, if you are angry with me. You, Sir, after all are habitually at fault in some respects. Therefore if these brothers pay no heed and the matter is taken up before the Master, even you, Sir, will not escape. Why not be quick and decide to clear the matter up?' Pao-yü said: 'Clear what matter up? I'm certainly going back.' Ch'in Chung cried and said: 'So long as Chin Jung is here I want to go back.'

Li Kuei is a servant. He is addressing an incompetent usher who has allowed a free-for-all to develop in the class-room; Pao-yü is his young master who has been involved in the fight; and Ch'in Chung is Pao-yü's rather girlish school-friend who has just had his head cut by a flying object. The meaning is roughly as follows:

'Well, if you don't mind my saying so', said Li Kuei, 'it's because you've been to blame yourself in the past that these lads won't do what you tell them to now. So if today's business does get to the ears of your grandfather, you will be in trouble too, along with all the rest. If I were you I should think of some way of sorting this out as quickly as possible'.

'Sort it out nothing', said Pao-yü. 'I'm going home'.

'If Chin Jung stays here, I go home', wailed Ch'in Chung tearfully.

I've just done this translation off the cuff and no doubt it could do with a lot of improvement. But I think you can see what it means, whereas I'm not at all sure you will have understood

the B version. I assure you that the translation is consistently of this quality throughout and that I haven't picked an exceptionally bad bit.

So much for B's colloquial English. Here are two examples of his shortcomings in Chinese.

- (1) The adverb k'uai gives him a lot of trouble. Affirmatively it's used much like 'quickly' in English. e.g. k'uai give me a beer = quick, give me a beer, etc. Negatively, however, it has a special idiomatic sense. k'uai don't = 'for goodness' sake don't' 'Please don't' 'You really mustn't' etc. This extremely common idiom is quite unknown to B.

e.g. p.204 'Be quick. Don't drink that cold' should be 'You really oughtn't to drink it cold, you know'

p.211 'Quick don't mention them' should be 'For goodness sake don't mention them' and so on passim.

- (2) Another elementary bit of translator's know-how which is to Bonsall quite unknown is the idiomatic use of rhetorical questions where in English we use the negative.

e.g. p.292 When Chia Ching heard that the wife of his eldest grandson was dead,

because he thought that he himself sooner or later was going to wing his flight on high, how should he be willing to come back home to infect himself with the 'red dust' and so completely undo his previous merit?

This means (believe it or not): Nothing would induce Chia Ching to return home for the funeral of his grandson's wife. Immortality was within his grasp and he was not going to impair his hard-won sanctity with the taint of earthly pollution.

I mentioned the poems in RCD. B tends to translate them in such a way that they become almost devoid of meaning.

e.g. p.28 Although the instruction is methodical,

It cannot be guaranteed that afterwards he will be a strong beam

This actually means

And who can be sure that the well-trained child

Won't grow up to be a bandit?

or p.29 What a perverse mistake

To bring the matter to a head

It is all a case of making bridal garments for another

Which means

Ah vanity! For, when all's said and done,

We're all like the girl who makes a wedding gown

For another bride to wear.

In the case of Sex it's hard to tell whether B is ignorant or merely coy

p.225 Chin Jung laughed and said, 'I have caught you now and that's the truth'. As he spoke, he clapped his hands and laughed with a loud voice saying: 'Eating together hot cakes. Don't you all go and buy one to eat?'

Here it's pretty clear that he doesn't know that toasting sesame buns is 18th century Peking slang for buggery. A few pages later, however, he clearly does understand the rude words but funks translating them.

Here Ming-yen walked in, grabbed hold of Chin Jung, and shouted some abusively indecent remarks at him and said: 'You are a good little boy. Come out and have a round with your Lord Ming'.

The words actually mean

At this point Ming-yen strode in and grabbed hold of Chin Jung.

'Whether we fuck arseholes or not, what the fucking hell has it got to do with you? You should be bloody grateful we haven't fucked your dad. Why don't you come and fight with me if you think you're so great?'

B is perfectly entitled to use dots if he shrinks from soiling his fingers with this kind of language, but it seems entirely unethical of him to falsify the translation.

In a novel whose characters are numbered in scores, the way people are named becomes very important. B keeps quite a few of the Chinese terms but translated others. I don't like the look of names half in roman and half in italic (e.g. 'Feng-*chieh*'). I don't think he properly understands some of the terms (I'm sure he doesn't know what *ta-yeh* and *t'ai-yeh* really mean); and I don't like his method of translation when he does translate (why 'Aunt Hsieh' but 'Li nannie'?) Altering just the names alone would involve a virtual rewriting of the book

2.1.5 Expansion and Alteration: Under the Plantains 蕉下客 (Fri 5 Nov 1971) (NB37)

In Chapter 37, Tan-chun suggests setting up a poetry club. Each of the girls discusses how they should choose their pen-names. Tan-chun says that she is fond of plantains, and would like to call herself 蕉下客 “Under the Plantains”. Then, Dai-yu jokingly recommends putting her in the pan to get some good venison with their drinks, as if Tan-chun was a deer.

(R II, 37, 442) (P II, 37, 217)

Dai-yu is referring to the Taoist parable 蕉葉覆鹿 (the deer covered by plantain leaves), which originates from the chapter in Liezi 列子 entitled “Zhou Muwang” 周穆王.¹⁶ This is about a woodcutter who has killed a deer and worries that it will be discovered. So, he covers the deer with plantain leaves and puts it in the pool. Later, he forgets where he has put the deer, and thinks it was all just a dream. The story is cited to illustrate that reality is just like a dream.

Hawkes recognizes this and explains Dai-yu’s references to the story in the published translation as follows:

“Under the plantains” is where the woodcutter in the old Taoist parable hid the deer he had killed; so the allusion means “a deer”. (P II, 37, 217)

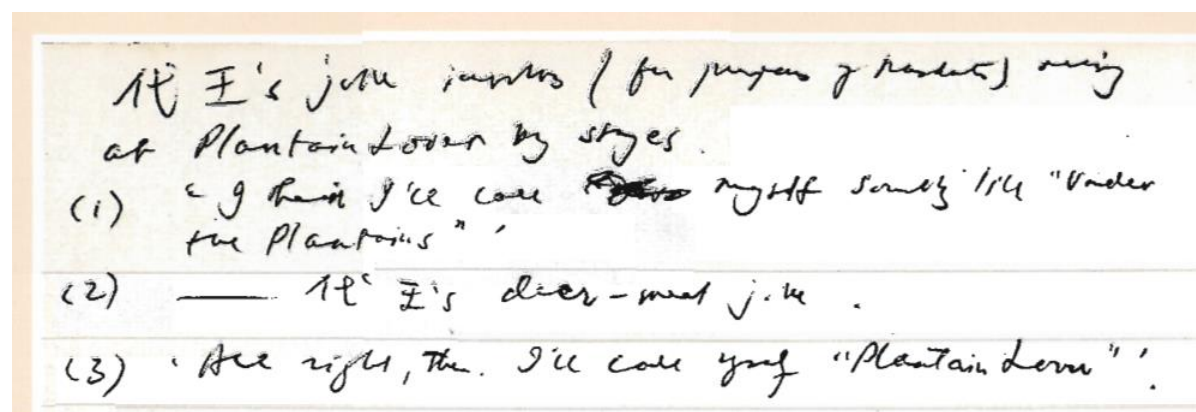
Dai-yu’s joke means that, in using that pen-name for herself, Tan-chun is implying that they can treat her as venison for their feast.

Hawkes makes Tan-chun change her pen name to ‘Plantain Lover’ as a logical result of Dai-yu’s remarks even though, in the Chinese text, her pen-name remains. (蕉下客 in Chapter 38 or 蕉客 in Chapter 70)

(R II, 37, 442) (P II, 37, 217) (R II, 38, 464) (P II, 38, 252) (R III, 70, 906) (P III, 70, 388)

In a passage from the *Notebooks* that testifies to his determination to spell out underlying meanings, and his willingness to adjust the text accordingly, Hawkes gives the rationale for his innovation by setting out 3 distinct stages in the conversation, through which Tan-chun comes up with her pen-name. First, Tan-chun mentions her fondness of plantains, and then Dai-yu makes the joke about the deer meat, and finally Tan-chun comes up with the revised version, as shown on NB37 as follows:

Fig. 2-24: NB37



代玉's joke involves (for purposes of translation) arriving at Plantain Lover by stages:

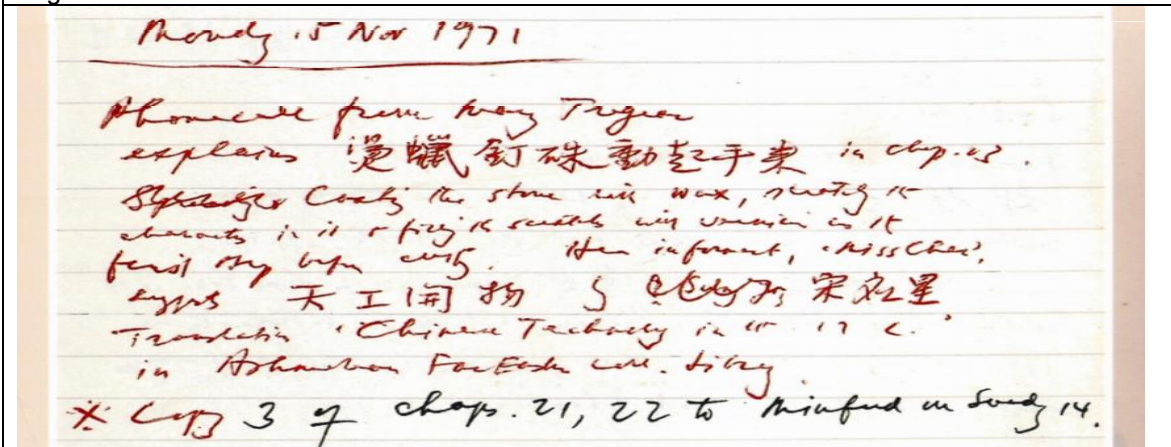
- (1) 'I think I'll call myself something like "Under the Plantains"'
- (2) — 代玉's deer meat joke.
- (3) 'All right, then. I'll call myself "Plantain Lover"'

2.1.6 Consulting the Experts: Waxing, scratching and 'redding in' 燙蠟釘硃 動起手來 (Mon 15 Nov 1971) (NB37)

In Chapter 23, following her family visit, Yuan-chun, the Imperial Concubine, instructs that the poems about Prospect Garden written during her visit be engraved on stone in the Garden to preserve the memory of her family's remarkable talent. Accordingly, Jia Zheng hires the most skilled craftsmen to do the work, which is described as 「燙蠟釘硃·動起手來。」 (R I, 23, 262)

Hawkes often had recourse to his wide circle of friends for help in translating. He records on NB37 a phonecall from Mary Tregear¹⁷ explaining 燙蠟釘硃動起手來, and giving a book recommendation. Hawkes notes the book is available in the Far Eastern Collection of the Ashmolean Library as follows:

Fig. 2-25: NB37



Phonecall from Mary Tregear explains 燙蠟釘硃動起手來 in Chap. 23.

Coating the stone with wax, scratching the characters in it & filling the scratches with varnish as the first step before cutting.

Her informant, 'Miss Chai' suggests 天工開物 by 宋應星¹⁸. Translation 'Chinese technology in the 17th century' in Ashmolean Far Eastern Collection, Library.

Copy 3 of Chaps. 21, 22 to Minford on Sunday 14.

Hawkes eventually comes up with the following translation:

「燙蠟釘硃·動起手來。」

(R I, 23, 262)

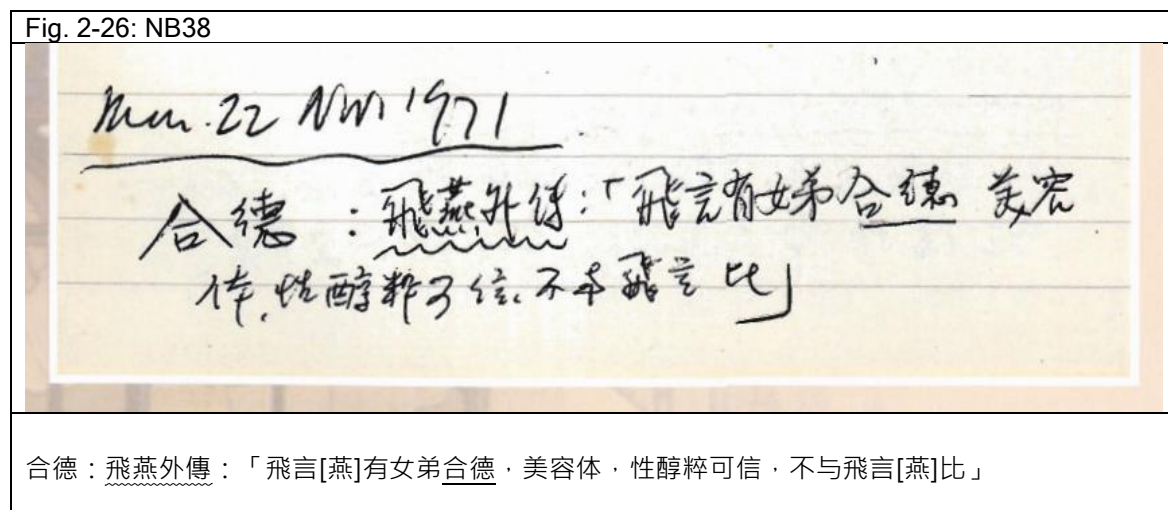
“In due course the preliminary stages of waxing, scratching and ‘redding in’ had commenced, and work on the memorial proceeded according to plan.” (P I, 23, 452)

2.1.7 Making a Reference Accessible: Flying Swallow 飛燕 (Mon 22 Nov 1971) (NB38)

In Chapter 23, Bao-yu starts to find the garden and those in it tedious but can find no satisfaction in the world outside it either. Tealeaf, his page, tries hard to find something nice that interests him, and finally buys a pile of books of popular fiction for him. This is a genre Bao-yu has never heard of and includes the stories of 飛燕 and 合德. (R I, 23, 268).

Hawkes traces the sources of the two titles 飛燕 and 合德 on NB38 as follows:

Fig. 2-26: NB38



As shown by the above, Hawkes writes the extract from 飛燕外傳¹⁹, which is a novel based on the life of Zhao Feiyan 趙飛燕, Empress Xiaocheng 孝成皇后 of the Han Emperor Cheng (43 - 1 B.C.). 合德 was the younger sister of 飛燕. Zhao Feiyan 趙飛燕 was not her real name. She was so agile when dancing that people started to call her “feiyan” 飛燕 (Flying Swallow). Zhao Feiyan kept her influence by recommending her younger sister, Hede 合德, to the emperor, who was captivated by her charms.

Based on the above background research, Hawkes renders the titles of the books as follows:

2.1.8 Detailed Accounting: Pennyweights 錢 (Wed 8 Dec 1971) (NB40) (Fri 25 Jul 1975) (NB176)

In Chapter 24, Jia Yun asks his uncle, Bu Shi-ren (who runs a perfumery) whether he can let him have four ounces of Barus camphor and four ounces of musk, and pay later. After he has been turned down by his uncle, who gives him a lecture instead, he is distressed. He then meets Ni Er, who generously offers to lend him the money, 15 兩 3 錢. (R I, 24, 278)

Hawkes is very punctilious as a translator in giving the exact equivalents of Chinese weights and measures. He refers to Troy Weight, which is a system of measurement, used for measuring gold and silver and jewels, noting that 20 pennyweights is an ounce, a 錢 is 2 dwt. (dwt. is the pennyweight symbol) (NB40)

Also, Hawkes finds that the unit 錢 corresponds to 2 pennyweights (NB176), as shown in the following snapshots:

Fig. 2-27: NB40	Fig. 2-28: NB176
<p>Troy weight For Gold, Silver and Jewels 20 pennyweights is an ounce 錢 is 2 dwt.</p>	<p>20 pennyweights = 1 oz 一兩 10 錢 100 分 1 錢 = 2 pennyweights 5 分 = 1 pennyweight</p>

Accordingly, Hawkes renders 15 兩 3 錢 as “fifteen taels and six pennyweights of silver.”

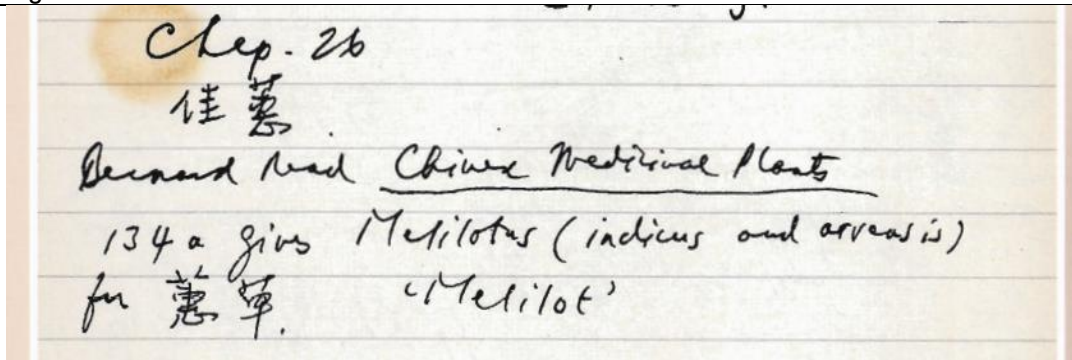
(P I, 24, 476)

2.1.9 Botanical Investigations: Melilot 佳蕙 (Tue 1 Feb 1972) (NB53)

One of Bao-yu's maids, 佳蕙, is named Melilot based on the Latin term for the medicinal plant 蕙草, as 蕙 forms part of her name. (R I, 26, 300) (P I, 26, 507)

In this context, Hawkes consults Bernard Emms Read's *Chinese Medicinal Plants from the Pen Ts'ao Kang Mu. A.D. 1596: Botanical, Chemical and Pharmacological Reference List*,^{20,21} as shown in the following figures. He notes that, item 134a of the book gives Melilotus (indicus and arvensis) as botanical names for 蕙草. Accordingly, Hawkes renders the Chinese name 佳蕙 with the English name, Melilot.

Fig. 2-29: NB53



Chap. 26 佳蕙
Bernard Read Chinese Medicinal Plants
134a gives Melilotus (indicus and arvensis) for 蕙草.
'Melilot'

Fig. 2-30: Read, Bernard Emms. *Chinese Medicinal Plants from the Pen Ts'ao Kang Mu. A.D. 1596: Botanical, Chemical and Pharmacological Reference List*. Peiping: Peking Natural History Bulletin, 1936, p.34.²⁰

34 BERNARD E. READ						
LATIN NAME	CHINESE NAME	PART USED	CONSTITUENTS	HABITAT	REFERENCE	REMARKS
134a <i>O. basilicum</i> , L. (M. Br. Ch.) (a1) <i>Melilotus indicus</i> , All. (J) (a2) <i>M. arvensis</i> , Wallr. (Br).	蕙草 Hsün Ts'ao (別錄) 零陵香 蕙草 香草 燕草 黃零草	hb sd rt -j	Ess. oil.	Hop. Ku. Ki. Tung.	St. 289: FH. 2. 266: BN. 1495: USD. 1514: DH. 586: Laufer 586: WP. 1075: IMP. 1611: CRN. 511: IDI. 208: CRAS. 1897. 124. 300: 1904. 139. 928: 1905. 141. 272; 140. 455, 667: JSCI. 1918. 604: 1904. 1235: 1905. 1253: ICS. 1897. 72. 130: BSCC	<i>O. sanctum</i> , L. IMP. 1014. Cf. <i>Lysimachia</i> , q. v.

2.1.10 Textual Scholarship and Scepticism: Less than a year 不上一年 (Sat 4 Mar 1972) (NB64-65)

Jia Rui is infatuated with Xi-feng. He tries every opportunity to get close to her.

The cunning Xi-feng plans to trap him. She makes Jia Rui wait for her in a dark room. When Jia Rui sees an obscure figure coming into the room, he immediately embraces and kisses the person. However, the person he is kissing turns out to be Jia Qiang, not Xi-feng. He (Jia Qiang) accuses Jia Rui of indecent assault.

Jia Qiang tells Jia Rui that Xi-feng has told Lady Wang that Jia Rui has been harassing her, and that he himself is coming now to fetch him and bring him to Lady Wang. Jia Rui begs Jia Qiang to let him go. Frightened by Jia Qiang, Jia Rui agrees to write him an IOU for fifty taels of silver.

Following this incident, Jia Rui still cannot get over his infatuation with Xi-feng. Owing a large amount of money, burdened in the daytime by the homework his strict grandfather assigns him, and exhausted at night by too much self-pleasuring, he falls ill and consequently:

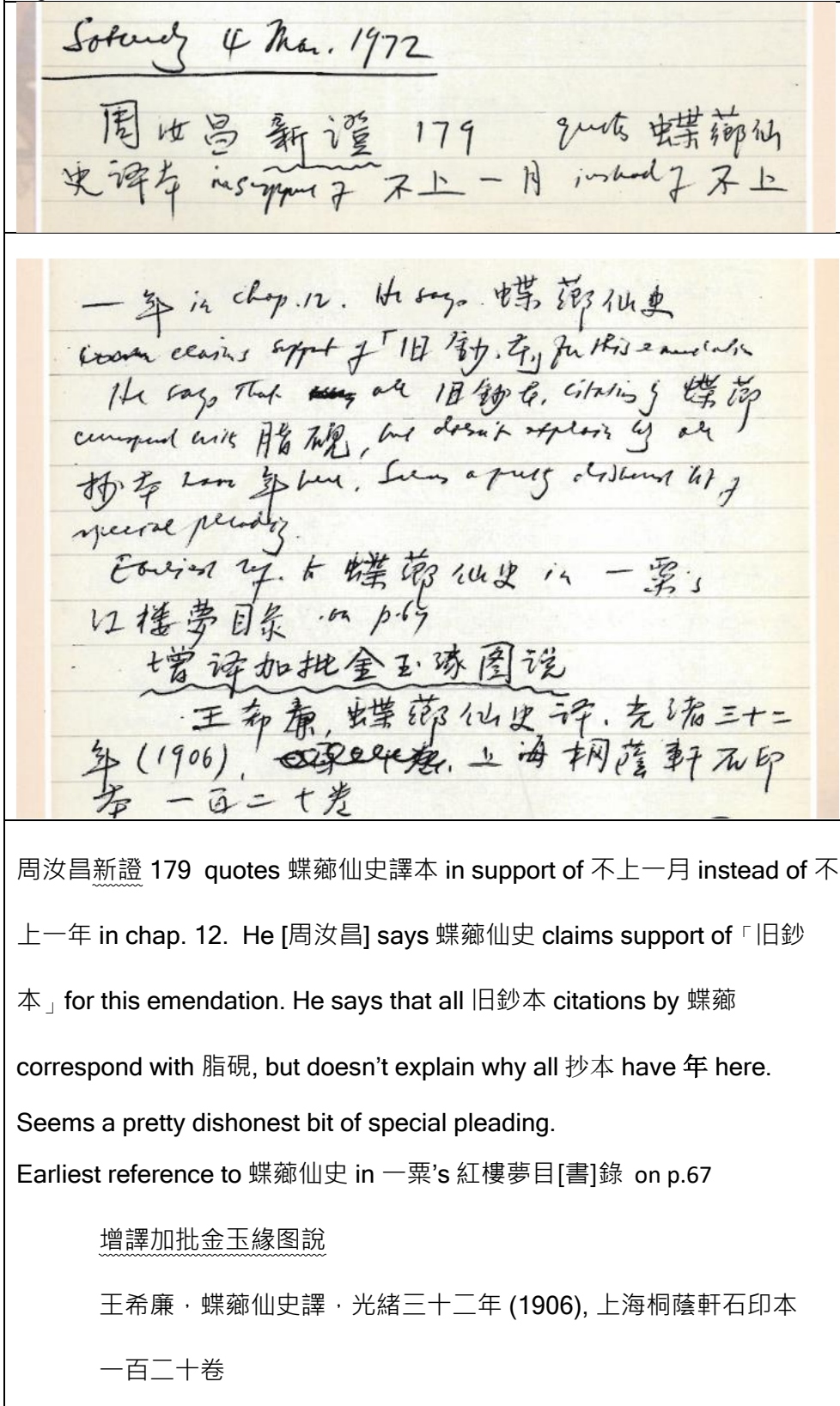
“a palpitation in the heart, a loss of taste in the mouth, a weakness in the hams, a smarting in the eyes, feverishness by night and lassitude by day, albumen in the urine and blood-flecks in the phlegm - had all manifested themselves within less than a year.”

(不上一年)

(R I, 12, 140) (P I, 12, 250)

For the statement that Jia Rui's illness “had all manifested themselves within less than a year” (不上一年), Hawkes, pursuing this short phrase with a detailed eye for scholarly accuracy, remarks on NB64-65 as follows:

Fig. 2-31: NB64-65



周汝昌新證 179 quotes 蝶蕓仙史譯本 in support of 不上一月 instead of 不
上一年 in chap. 12. He [周汝昌] says 蝶蕓仙史 claims support of 「旧鈔
本」 for this emendation. He says that all 旧鈔本 citations by 蝶蕓
correspond with 脂硯, but doesn't explain why all 抄本 have 年 here.
Seems a pretty dishonest bit of special pleading.

Earliest reference to 蝶蕓仙史 in 一粟's 紅樓夢目[書]錄 on p.67

增譯加批金玉緣圖說

王希廉, 蝶蕓仙史譯, 光緒三十二年 (1906), 上海桐蔭軒石印本
一百二十卷

Hawkes is not convinced that the expression 不上一月 is correct and gives his reasons. Accordingly, he follows 不上一 year in Renmin and renders it as “less than a year.”

(R I, 12, 140) (P I, 12, 250)

Hawkes also proceeds further to find out about the source mentioned by 周汝昌²². He finds the earliest reference to the 蝶蕒仙史 in 一粟’s standard bibliography, 紅樓夢書錄²³.

2.1.11 Herbal Investigations: Xiang ru 香蕒 (Fri 30 Jun 1972) (NB68)

In Chapter 29, Bao-yu and Dai-yu have a bitter quarrel. Bao-yu becomes so angry that he tries to smash his jade. Aroma has never seen Bao-yu so irate. She tries to calm him down, asking him just to think of the effect it would have on Dai-yu if he really broke the jade.

Hearing Aroma’s words, Dai-yu weeps even more, reflecting that Aroma knows her better than Bao-yu does. This is too much emotion for Dai-yu’s weak stomach, and she starts to vomit the medicine, 香蕒, which she has just taken.

Regarding the term 香蕒, Hawkes, with his usual meticulous attention to detail, consults two sources as follows:

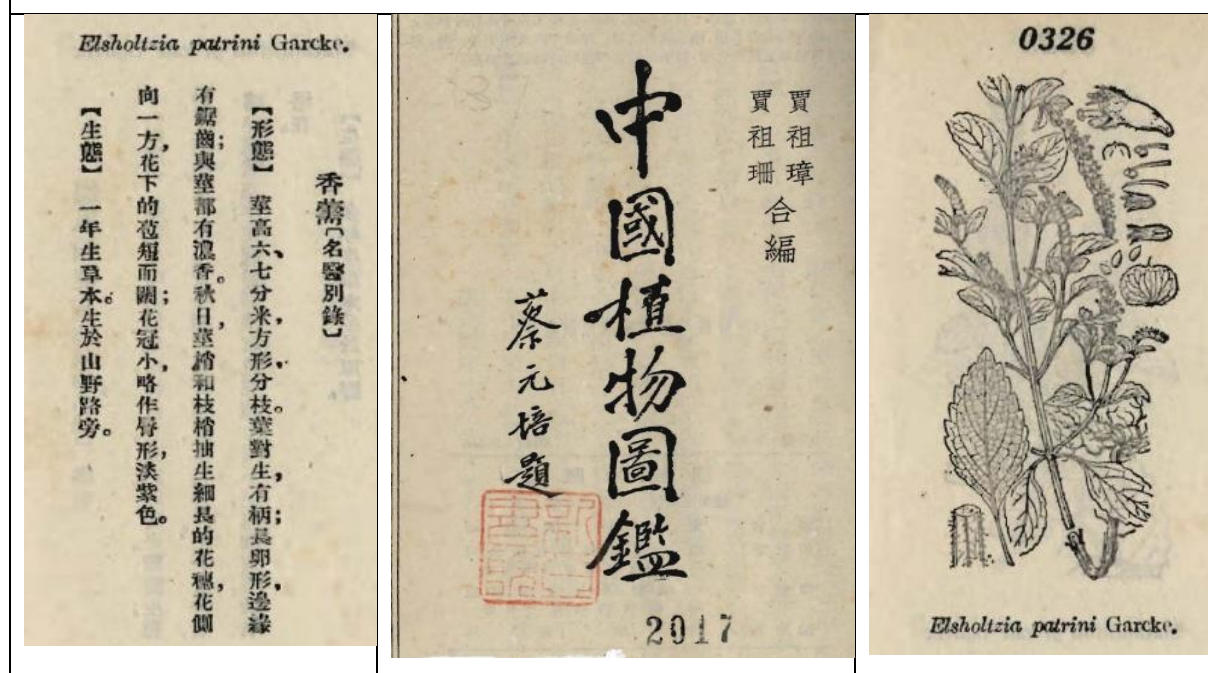
Fig. 2-32: NB68

<p>p.353 香蕒 Xiang-ru</p> <p>Bernard Read (MP p.31)</p> <p>Elscholtzia cristata 'Lepechin'</p> <p>開明 中國植物圖鑑 p.186 calls it</p> <p>Elscholtzia patini.</p>

NB68 gives the following based on both the English and Chinese reference sources:

1. Read's *Chinese medicinal Plants from the Pen Ts'ao Kang Mu. A.D. 1596*: botanical, chemical and pharmacological reference list, ²⁰ gives the biological term: *Elscholtzia cristata* and its English name 'Lepechin';
2. 開明 中國植物圖鑑 ²⁴ p. 186 calls it *Elscholtzia patrini*.

Fig. 2-33: Jia Zuzhang 賈祖璋 and Jia Zushan 賈祖珊, eds. *Zhongguo zhiwu tu jian* 中國植物圖鑑 Beijing : Zhonghua, 1958, p.186. ²⁴



As shown in the above, 中國植物圖鑑 *Zhongguo zhiwu tu jian* provides, for each entry of Chinese plants, a picture of the plant, its Chinese name (e.g. 香薷) and botanical name, “*Elscholtzia patrini*”, the original source (名醫別錄) in which the medicine was first recorded as Chinese medicine, together with detailed description of its size, and shape, as well as its properties, etc.

Fig. 2-34: Read, Bernard Emms. *Chinese Medicinal Plants from the Pen Ts'ao Kang Mu. A.D. 1596: Botanical, Chemical And Pharmacological Reference List*. Peiping: Peking Natural History Bulletin, 1936, p.31. ²⁰,

LATIN NAME	CHINESE NAME	PART USED	CONSTITUENTS	H/
122. <i>Brunella vulgaris</i> , L. (M.J. Ch. HC. G. Br.) HEAL ALL or CARPENTER WEED.	夏枯草 (本經) 夕句 乃東 燕面 鐵色草	lf st	Ess. oil. Bitterstuff. Salts 3. 5%	Hu Ka Sze Ma
123. <i>Elscholtzia cristata</i> , Willd. (J.G. Br.) LEPECHIN.	香薷 (別錄) 香薷 香薷 香薷 香薷	hb	Ess. oil 2% Elscholtzia-Ketone.	Ho Hu Ki
124. <i>Lamium album</i> , L. (M.) (<i>L. petiolatum</i> , Royle.) (M.) WHITE NETTLE.	續斷 (本經) 屬折 接竹	rt	Stachyose. Glucoside. Saponin.	Hu Ho

CHINESE MEDICINAL PLANT

from the

PEN TS'AO KANG MU 本草綱目 A.D. 1596

3rd. Edition

of a

Botanical, Chemical and Pharmacological
Reference List

Compiled by

BERNARD E. READ, Ph.D. 伊博恩

Head of the Division of Physiological Sciences,
Henry Lester Institute of Medical Research,
Shanghai, China.

Chin, Ju-chiang, joint compiler

Published by the Peking Natural History Bulletin, 1936.

Read's *Chinese medicinal plants* provides comprehensive indices of the Chinese names and botanical synonyms, including headings in Chinese, English and Latin.

For example, for the plant 香薷, it provides the botanical name, "*Elscholtzia cristata*", and the English name, "LEPECHIN" beneath the Latin name, which is recorded on NB68. The romanised form of the Chinese name in the Wade-Giles romanisation scheme, i.e. Hsiang Ju, is shown beneath the Chinese name.

As with 中國植物圖鑑 *Zhongguo zhiwu tu jian*, Read's *Chinese medicinal plants* provides in brackets the original Chinese classic in which the plant was first recorded as of medical use,

which, in the case of 香薷, is 別錄 (also called by its long title as 名醫別錄 *Mingyi bielü* (*Informal records of famous physicians*)).

As shown by the above two reference sources, Read gives *Elscholtzia* for 香薷, whereas *Zhongguo zhiwu tu jian* 中國植物圖鑑 gives a slightly different spelling, *Elsholtzia*, which is also the reading in *Bencao Gangmu* 本草綱目.

Hawkes follows *Zhongguo zhiwu tu jian* and translates as follows, using the more common modern spelling of the plant:

方才吃的香薷飲 ... 都吐出來了 (R I, 29, 353)

“... up came the tisane of elsholtzia leaves she had taken only a short while before.”

(P II, 29, 88)

2.1.12 A Scholarly Mania for Games: Dice and Dominoes (Tue 19 Sept 1972) (NB69-71 & NB341-343)

Readers of the *Stone* will know that Hawkes prefers not to provide footnotes because they may disrupt the flow of the story. In special cases which require explanation in greater detail, he provides an explanation in the Appendix. Dice and dominoes are among those topics which require more elaboration. From the *Notebooks*, we can see his indefatigable approach to detail. The whole dominoes section is worth reviewing in its entirety.

In Chapter 40 of *HLM*, the author describes the game of dominoes as played by Grandmother Jia, Grannie Liu, Aunt Xue, and the girls.

As a supplement to Chapter 40, Hawkes provides in Appendix II of Volume 2 of the *Stone* a two page description titled “Threesomes with the Dominoes”, with various illustrations of the dice and dominoes so as to provide readers with a better understanding of the game. (P II, App II, 586-7)

As shown on NB69, he refers to Stewart Culin’s *Chinese games with dice and dominoes*²⁵, which was published by the United States National Museum in 1895. Culin was an acknowledged authority on the subject, whose work would have been well known to a widely read Sinologist such as Hawkes. He provides the shelf number for the book as follows (presumably the shelf number of the Bodleian Library which he uses very often):

RSL Soc. 19982 d.17 (1898)

(Smithsonian Report US Nat. Mus. 1898)

Comparison between Chinese dominoes and European dominoes

In Appendix II of Volume 2 of the *Stone*, Hawkes makes a comparison between Chinese dominoes and European dominoes, with reference to Culin:

Similarities:

Hawkes writes “the Chinese ‘tiles’ of bone or ivory which I generally translate “dominoes” were in appearance very similar to our dominoes”, and compares this with what is shown in Culin’s book (p.492), “Chinese dice are small cubes of bone marked on each side with incised spots from 1 to 6 in number, ... which are arranged in the same manner as the spots on modern European dice”.

Differences:

Hawkes writes, “Chinese dominoes differed from ours in having coloured spots – green and red – on a white ground. Aces and fours were red, the other numbers were green, except that double sixes were half and half.”

Compare this with what is mentioned in Culin’s book (p.492): “The “four” and “one” spots on Chinese dice are painted red, and the “six,” “five,” “three,” and “two” are painted black. The “one” is always much larger and more deeply incised than the other spots, possibly to compensate for its opposite, the “six.”

We may notice that Hawkes refers to the “six,” “five,” “three,” and “two” of Chinese dice as being in green, whereas Culin refers to them as in black.

Conventional names:


As mentioned above, Hawkes writes “The Chinese ‘tiles’ of bone or ivory which I generally translate ‘dominoes’ “. Each domino contains the points of two dices. The points of each dice range from the lowest point, one, to the highest point, six.

Hawkes continues that “there were conventional names for certain combinations: a double six was ‘heaven’ or ‘the sky’ , a double ace ‘earth’, a double four ‘man’, a double five ‘plum’, a four and a six ‘the embroidered screen’.”

(P II, App. II, 586)

With reference to Culin, Hawkes illustrates on NB69 with drawings and Chinese characters the conventional names for certain combinations. The dominoes are categorized into two series,

the Wen 文 Series and the Wu 武 Series. As shown on NB69, Hawkes draws the tiles of the Wen 文 Series according to rank captioned with their names. He also draws 2 pieces of the Wu 武 Series.

<p>Fig. 2-35: NB69</p>	<p>Fig. 2-36: Culin, Stewart. "Chinese games with dice and dominoes." In Report of the United States National Museum for the year ending June 30, 1893, 489-537. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1895, p.493. ²⁵</p>
 <p>CC</p> <p>Note:</p> <p>Circles denote red</p> <p>Dots denote green (which Culin refers to as black in the picture on the right)</p>	 <p>CHINESE DICE.</p>

It can be easily seen how extremely closely (almost to the point of 'mania') Hawkes has read Culin's exposition and how closely he has followed it. The full documentation of this 'mania' offered in this section gives us unique insight into his temperament as a translator.

Fig. 2-37: NB69 and illustration



Note:

Circles denote red

Dots denote green

Fig. 2-38: An illustration of Hawkes' drawing on NB69

Wen (文) Series

Dice	Name in Chinese	Name in English
Double Six	天	Heaven/Sky
Double One	地	Earth
Double Four	人	Man
One Three	和	Harmony
Double Five	梅	Plum (Flower)
Double Three	長三	Zhangsan (Long Three)
Double Two	板櫈	Bench
Five Six	虎頭	Tiger's Head
Four Six	紅頭什	Red Heaven Ten
One Six	高脚七	Long Leg Seven
One Five	紅椎六*	Red Mallet Six

Wu (武) Series

One Two	三雞	Rooster Three
---------	----	---------------

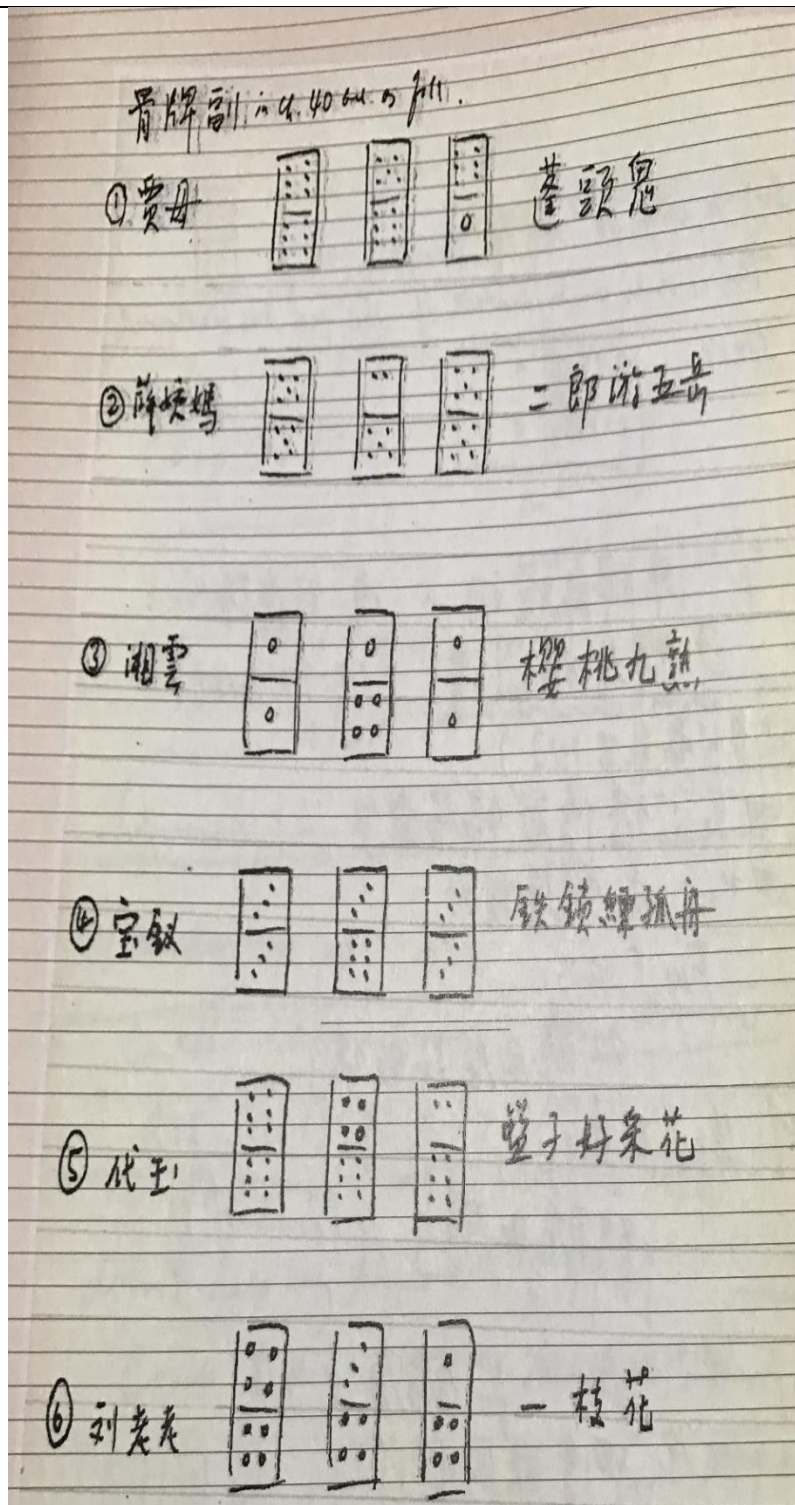
*Culin's book has 紅椎六 instead of 高脚六 on NB69.

Threesome with dominoes: The rules of the game

In Chapter 40, Grandmother Jia plays threesomes with dominoes with Grannie Liu, Aunt Xue and the girls. Faithful, Grandmother Jia's maid, is proposed to be the M.C. The whole threesome consists of three dominoes. Each player will get four calls from Faithful, a call for each of the three dominoes, and a fourth call for the whole threesome. The player has to produce a quotation from a well-known song, poem, or a popular saying which rhymes with the names of the domino pattern, and has some association with the call. As shown on NB71, Hawkes draws the dominoes and the names for each player's set of threesomes, which is shown in the published translation.

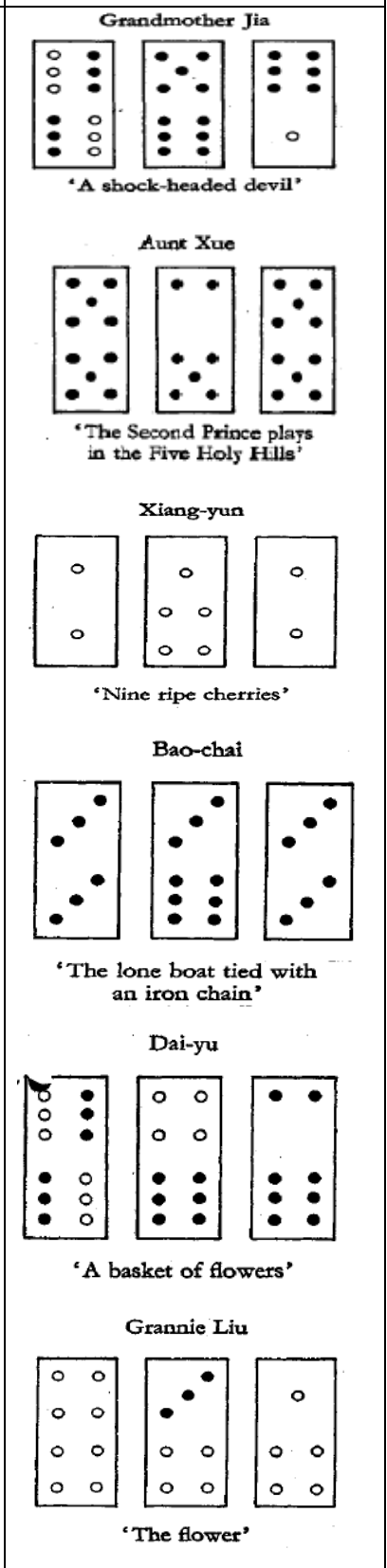
(P II, App II, 586-587)

Fig. 2-39: NB71



(Circles denote red ; Dots denote green)

Fig.2-40: Stone (II, App II, 586-587)



After drawing the table, Hawkes, diligent as always, provides two Chinese language reference sources on Chinese dominoes as follows:

Fig. 2-41: NB71

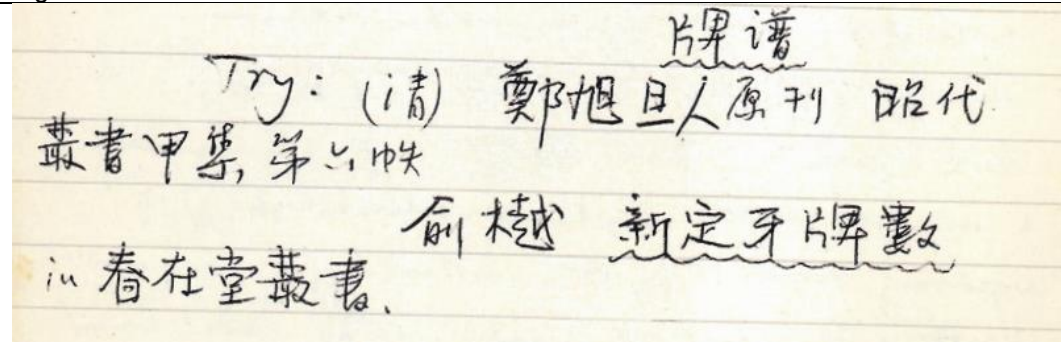
	
<p>牌譜</p> <p>Try: (清) 鄭旭旦人原刊 昭代 叢書甲集, 第六帙 ²⁶</p> <p>俞越 <u>新定牙牌數</u> in 春在堂叢書 ²⁷</p>	

Illustration of the game: Threesomes with dominoes

The following gives the sets of three dominoes for which each of the players have to provide appropriate quotations. In the following illustration, the first line shows the M.C.'s call, and the second line the players' response.

Note: In the discussion on dice and dominoes, the labels, 'CC' and 'DH', are added to differentiate the statement I make (CC) and Hawkes' quotations (DH). The texts in the rectangular boxes on the dominoes are quotations from the *Stone* and the Remin edition of *HLM*.

Grandmother Jia's set of threesomes (NB70, NB341)

Hawkes writes the details of Grandmother Jia's set of threesomes on NB341 as follows:

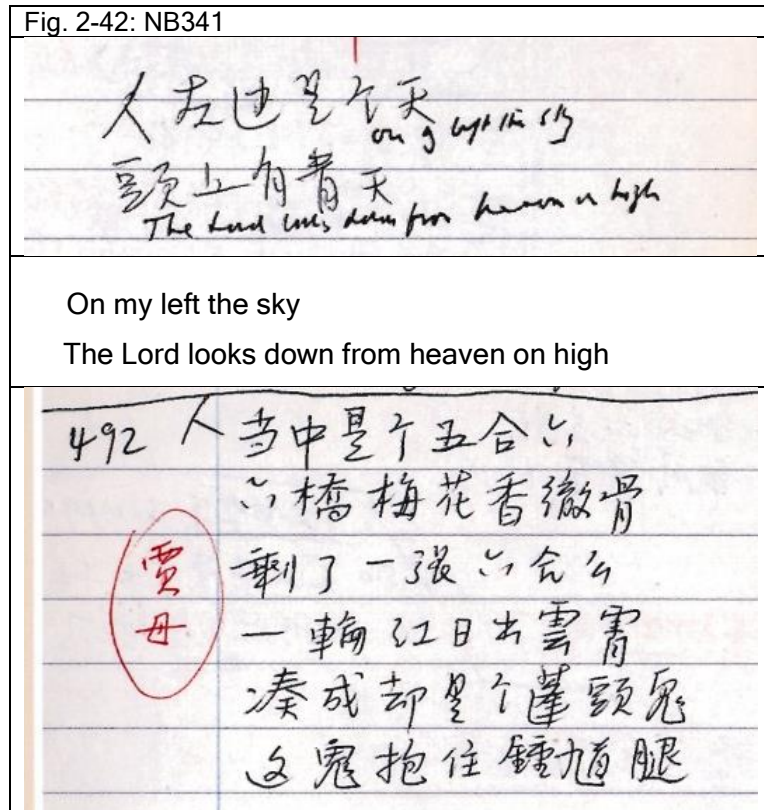


Fig. 2-43: Grandmother Jia: The first call:

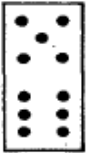
Domino	Quotation
	<p>左邊是張「天」。 On my left the bright blue sky; 頭上有青天。 The Lord looks down from heaven on high;</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(R II, 40, 492) (P II, 40, 300)</p>

CC:

Domino: the conventional name for double six is the sky.

Quotation: Grandmother Jia gives a quotation containing the word, heaven, to match it.

Reference (NB341): Hawkes gives a draft translation of the domino and the quotation of Grandmother Jia, as shown on NB341. The quotation is retained in the published version, whereas the domino is altered from “On my left the sky” (NB341) to the more memorable “On my left the bright blue sky”. (P II, 40, 300)

Fig. 2-44: Grandmother Jia: The second call:	
Dimino	Quotation
	<p>當中是個五合六。 Five and six together meet;</p> <p>六橋梅花香徹骨。 By Six Bay Bridge the flowers smell sweet;</p> <p>(R II,40, 492) (P II, 40, 300)</p>

CC:

Domino: a five-six;

Quotation: a five-six gives 方見六橋梅蕊 (literally, Six Bay Bridge and plum flower in sight),

Grandmother Jia gives a quotation 六橋梅花香徹骨 matching its meaning.

Reference (NB70):Hawkes consults 四季結同心 of 牙牌參禪圖譜 by 清 劉遵陸²⁸ regarding

the meaning of the domino, Five-Six (五六), and writes down the following:

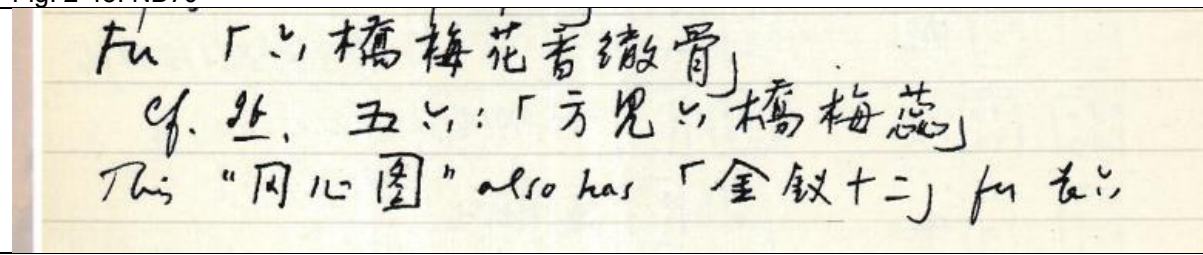

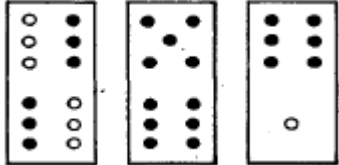
Fig. 2-45: NB70	
	
<p>For 「六橋梅花香徹骨」</p> <p>cf. <u>lb.</u> 五: 「方見六橋梅蕊」</p> <p>This “同心圖” also has 「金釵十二」 for 長六</p>	

Fig. 2-46: Liu, Zunlu 劉遵陸. *Yapai canchan tupu* 牙牌參禪圖譜. Taipei : Xin wen feng, 1989, p.699 ²⁸

(see Section 2.1.24 for discussion of 金陵十二釵 Twelve Beauties of Jinling)

Fig. 2-47: Grandmother Jia: The third call:	
Domino	Quotation
	<p>剩了一張六合么。 Leaves six and ace upon the right;</p> <p>一輪紅日出雲霄。 The red sun in the sky so bright;</p> <p>(R II, 40, 492) (P II, 40, 300)</p>

Reference (NB69) (P II, App II, 586): “A double six was ‘heaven’ or ‘the sky’.”

Fig. 2-48: Grandmother Jia: The whole threesome:	
Domino	Quotation
	<p>湊成卻是個「蓬頭鬼」。A shock-headed devil with hair like tow; 這鬼抱住鍾馗腿。The devil shouts, “Zhong Kui, let me go!” (R II,40, 492) (P II, 40, 300)</p>

CC:

The whole threesome: The conventional name for the whole threesome is a devil;

Quotation: Grandmother Jia responds by saying the devil is holding Zhong Kui 鍾馗’s leg.

Reference: In the Chinese legend, Zhong Kui 鍾馗 is the one who drives the devil away.

Grandmother Jia creatively makes the devil hold his adversary’s leg, which has everybody laughing.

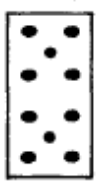
Aunt Xue's set of threesomes (NB341)

Hawkes writes the details of Aunt Xue's set of threesomes on NB341 as follows:

Fig. 2-49: NB341

493	左邊是个大長五
	梅花朵朵風前舞
薛	右邊是个大五長
姨	十月梅花嶺上香
媽	当中 = 五長七
	織女牛郎會七夕
	湊成二郎游五岳
	世人不及神仙乐

Fig. 2-50: Aunt Xue: The first call:

Domino	Quotation
	<p>左邊是個「大長五」。 On my left all the fives I find; 梅花朵朵風前舞。 Plum-blossoms dancing in the wind;</p> <p>(R II, 40, 493) (P II, 40, 300)</p>

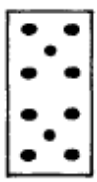
CC:

Domino: The conventional name for double five is the plum flower.

Quotation: Aunt Xue gives a quotation containing plum flowers to match it.

Reference (NB69) (P II, App II, 586): "a double five 'plum' ";

Fig. 2-51: Aunt Xue: The second call:


Domino	Quotation
	<p>右邊是個「大五長」。 On my right all the fives again; 十月梅花嶺上香。 Plum-blossoms in the tenth month's rain;</p> <p>(R II, 40, 493) (P II, 40, 300)</p>

CC:

Domino: Two fives makes ten;

Quotation: Aunt Xue gives a quotation re the tenth month, October, to match it.

Reference (NB69) (P II, App II, 586): “a double five ‘plum’ “;

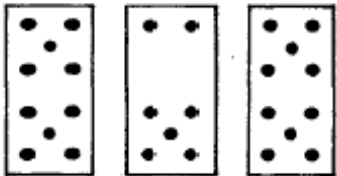
Fig. 2-52: Aunt Xue: The third call:	
Domino	Quotation
	當中「二五」是雜七。 Between them, two and five make seven; 織女牛郎會七夕。 On Seventh Night the lovers meet in heaven; (R II, 40, 493) (P II, 40, 300)

CC:

Domino: Two and five make seven;

Quotation: Aunt Xue gives a quotation re the Double Seventh Festival to match it;

Reference: In the Chinese legend, the Herdboy meets his wife only once a year at the
Double Seventh Festival, which falls on the seventh day of the seventh lunar
month.

Fig. 2-53: Aunt Xue: The whole threesome:	
Domino	Quotation
	湊成「二郎遊五嶽」。 The Second Prince plays in the Five Holy Hills; 世人不及神仙樂。 The immortals dwell far off from mortal ills; (R II, 40, 493) (P II, 40, 300)

CC:

The whole threesome: The five sets of “fives” represent the Five Great Mountains in China,
and the “two” refers to Erlangshen 二郎神 (literally, second son god);

Quotation: Aunt Xue contrasts the joy of the blessed immortal world with the misgivings of the
mortals.

Reference: Erlangshen 二郎神 is a semi-god in Chinese mythology who is portrayed in
classic and popular novels, *Xiyouji* 西遊記 and *Fengshen yanyi* 封神演義, etc.

Xiang-yun's set of threesomes (NB341)

Hawkes gives the details of Xiang-yun's set of threesomes on NB341 (as shown on the right and below):

Fig. 2-54: NB341

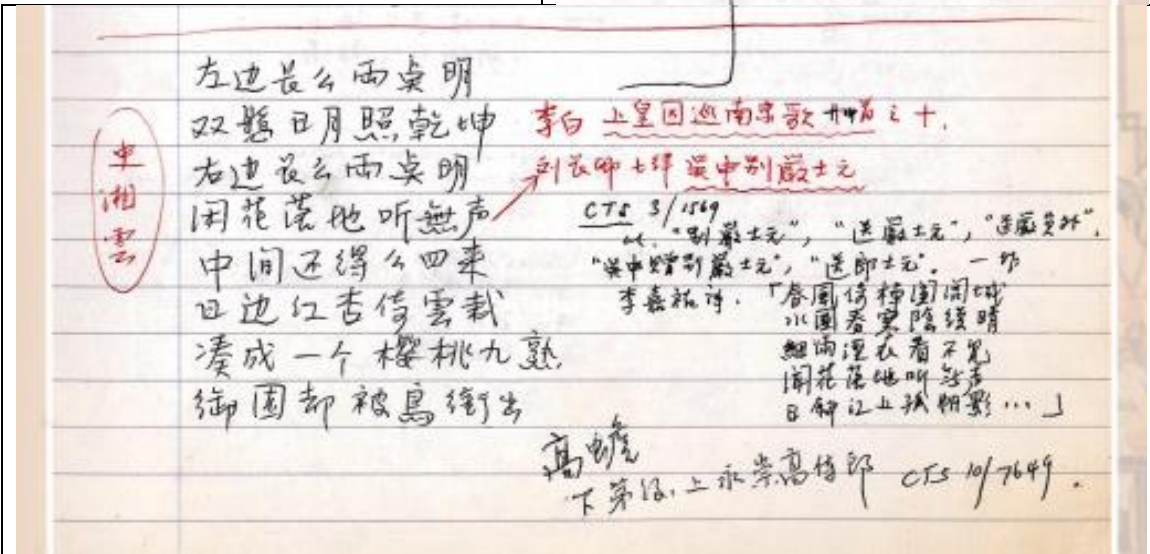
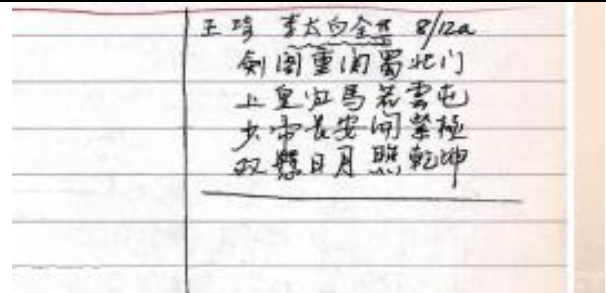
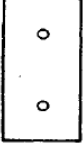


Fig. 2-55: Xiang-yun: The first call:

Domino	Quotation
	<p>左邊「長么」兩點明。 All the aces, one and one.</p> <p>雙懸日月照乾坤。 Two lamps for earth, the moon and sun, (R II, 40, 493) (P II, 40, 301)</p>

CC:

Domino: "All the aces" is made up of two red dots, one red dot at the top and one red dot at the bottom.

Quotation: Xiang-yun refers to the two red dots as the sun and the moon, which brightens the earth.

Reference (NB341) : Hawkes identifies the quotation 雙懸日月照乾坤 as derived from the poem, 上皇西巡南京歌十首之十 by Li Bai 李白, and writes down the poem, providing the source, 李太白全集 (8/12a) compiled by 王琦 ²⁹, as shown in the following:

DH: 李白 上皇西巡南京歌十首之十

王琦 李太白全集 (8/12a)

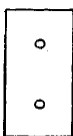
劍閣重開蜀北門

上皇歸馬若雲屯

少帝長安開紫極

雙懸日月照乾坤

CC: The poem is about the An Lushan Rebellion in the Tang Dynasty, in which the Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 fled to Sichuan. The poet composes the poem to comfort the Emperor, who has lost his kingdom.

Fig. 2-56: Xiang-yun: The second call:	
Domino	Quotation
	右邊「長么」兩點明。On my right once more aces all; 閑花落地聽無聲。And flowers to earth in silence fall; (R II, 40, 493) (P II, 40, 301)

CC:

Domino: The conventional name for “aces all” is the earth 地牌, which is in contrast to double six, the sky domino.

Quotation: Xiang-yun uses 落地 “earth” to match the meaning of “aces all”.

Reference (NB341): Hawkes provides the source of the quotation and gives the variant titles for the poem as follows:

DH: 劉長卿七律 吳中別嚴士元

CTS 3/1569

“別嚴士元” “送嚴士元” “送嚴員外” “吳中贈別嚴士元” “送郎士元”

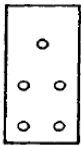
一作 李嘉祐詩.

「春風倚棹闔閭城
水國春寒陰復晴
細雨濕衣看不見
閒花落地聽無聲
日斜江上孤帆影 ...」

CC: As shown in the above, Hawkes in his exhaustive fashion gives the first 5 lines of the poem and provides the reference source of the poem, CTS 3/1569. (CTS is the abbreviation Hawkes uses for *Quan Tang Shi* 全唐詩³⁰)

The poem is written by 劉長卿 who is distressed about being demoted to a junior position.

The poet exchanges poems with 嚴士元, expressing his grievance about his situation.

Fig. 2-57: Xiang-yun: The third call:	
Domino	Quotation
	<p>中間還得「么四」來。Between them, ace again with four; 日邊紅杏倚雲栽。Apricot trees make the sun's red-petalled floor;</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(R II,40, 493) (P II, 40, 301)</p>

CC:

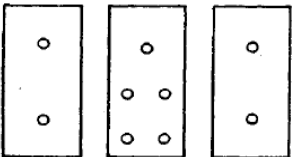
Domino: the one red dot on the top, ace 「么」, represents the sun; the four red dots at the bottom represent the apricot tree among the clouds.

Quotation: Xiang-yun gives a quotation matching with the sun and the apricot trees.

Reference (NB341): Hawkes, ever scrupulous with his sources, and no doubt aided by the notes of commentators in modern editions of the novel, identifies the quotation as derived from the poem, 下第後上永崇高侍郎 by 高瞻, and gives the source, CTS 10/7649 (*Quan Tangshi* 全唐詩).³⁰ The relevant lines are as follows:

「天上碧桃和露種
日邊紅杏倚雲栽
芙蓉生在秋江上
不向東風怨未開」

In ancient China, the emperor is referred to as the sky or the sun, and the dew descending from the sky as the Emperor's favour. The poet here uses the peach and apricot in the sky to refer to the high status of those officials in the Emperor's court, in contrast to the poet himself as the lotus growing on the autumn river, which does not bloom.

Fig. 2-58: Xiang-yun: The whole threesome:	
Domino	Quotation
	<p>湊成一個「櫻桃九熟」。Together that makes nine ripe cherries; 御園卻被鳥銜出。Winged thieves have stripped the Emperor's trees of berries; (R II, 40, 493) (P II, 40, 301)</p>

CC:

The whole threesome: Altogether, the nine red dots of the whole threesome are referred to as nine ripe cherries.

Quotation: Xiang-yun uses cherries to match the red dots;

Reference: Xiang-yun's line is derived from the poem 敕賜百官櫻桃 by the Tang poet, 王維 in which there is a line 非關御苑鳥銜殘。³¹

These nine red dots refer to the ripe cherries in the Emperor's garden being stolen by the birds. The author here is alluding to the fact that Xiang-yun is destined to be the loser (i.e. to have an unhappy fate) eventually.

Bao-chai's set of threesomes (NB342)

Hawkes writes the details of Bao-chai's set of threesomes on NB342 as follows:

Fig. 2-59: NB342

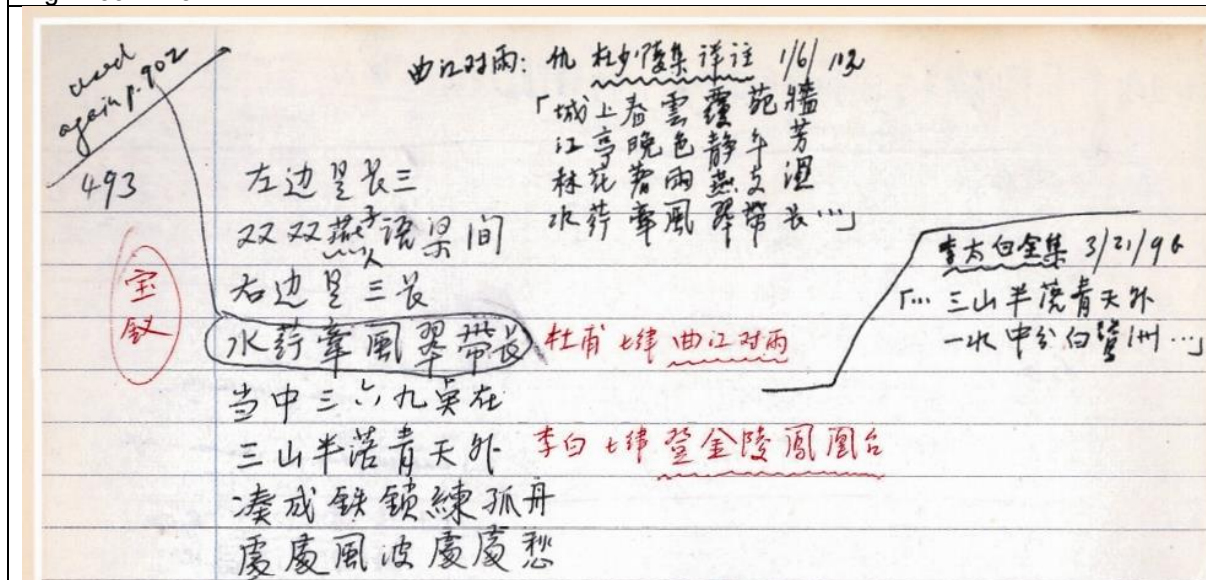


Fig. 2-60: Bao-chai: The first call:

Domino	Quotation
	<p>左邊是「長三」。 A pair on the left then, three and three; 雙雙燕子語梁間。 Swallows in pairs round the old roof-tree;</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(R II, 40, 493) (P II, 40, 301)</p>

CC:

Domino: three and three;

Quotation: Bao-chai gives a quotation containing double swallows, as the slanting lines of three resemble two swallows flying together, and double swallows are used often in poetry to symbolize a couple.

Reference: Bao-chai's line is not a direct quotation. It is adapted from the poem by a Song poet, 劉季孫 entitled 題饒州酒務廳屏 in which there is a line, 「呢喃燕子語梁間, 底事來驚夢裏閑」³²

Fig. 2-61: Bao-chai: The second call:

Domino	Quotation
	<p>右邊是「三長」。 A pair of threes upon the right; 水荇牽風翠帶長。 Green duckweed-trails on the water bright;</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(R II, 40, 493) (P II, 40, 301)</p>

CC:

Domino: three and three;

Quotation: the threes are referred to as the leaves of water poppies, blown in the breeze, just like long azure sashes.

Reference (NB342): Hawkes identifies the line as derived from the poem 曲江對雨, which is a regulated poem of eight seven-character lines 七律 by Du Fu, 杜甫, the famous Tang poet.

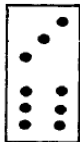
Hawkes gives the source (杜少陵集詳註 1/6/102) and notes down the first 4 lines of the poem as follows:³³

DH: 曲江對雨: 仇 杜少陵集譯注 1/6/102

「城上春雲覆苑牆
江亭晚色靜年芳
林花著雨燕支濕
水荇牽風翠帶長 ...」

CC: In the poem, the poet, in his sadness, can hardly bear to look back on the prosperous bygone days.

Hawkes also indicates that this line appears in Chapter 70 of *HLM*, in which Bao-qin quotes 水荇牽風翠帶長 in conversation with Bao-yu. (R III 70, 902)

Fig. 2-62: Bao-chai: The third call:	
Domino	Quotation
	當中「三六」九點在。A three and six between them lie; 三山半落青天外。Three peaks upon the rim of sky; (R II, 40, 493) (P II, 40, 301)

CC:

Domino: A three and six;

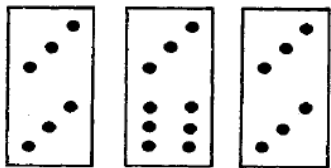
Quotation: the three dots are referred to as the three mountain peaks, the six dots represent half of the sky domino (which comprises double six). Thus, the six dots are referred to as the rim of the sky.

Reference (NB342): Hawkes identifies the line as derived from 登金陵鳳凰台 by Li Bai 李白.

He gives the source, 李太白全集 3/21/9b.³⁴ and writes down two relevant lines as follows:

DH: 李太白全集 3/21/9b
 「 ... 三山半落青天外
 一水中分白鷺洲 ... 」

CC: The poem concerns a legend about the Phoenix Bird Tower in Nanjing (the capital of many states/dynasties). From the Phoenix Bird Tower, the melodic singing of the phoenix used to attract all the birds from the neighbourhood. The absence now symbolizes the lost prosperity of the city.

Fig. 2-63: Bao-chai: The whole threesome:	
Domino	Quotation
	<p>湊成「鐵鎖練孤舟」。The lone boat tied with an iron chain; 處處風波處處愁。The waves on every hand and the heart's pain;</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(R II,40, 493) (P II, 40, 301)</p>

CC:

The whole threesome: The sets of three, together with six dots;

Quotation: Bao-chai gives a quotation containing a boat and a chain, as the sets of three shape like chains, whereas the six dots in the middle are referred to as a boat.

Reference: The line is derived from the poem by the Ming dynasty poet, Tang Yin 唐寅, entitled 題畫詩 (四十首之三):³⁵

「蘆葦蕭蕭野渚秋
 滿蓑風雨獨歸舟
 莫嫌此地風波惡
 處處風波處處愁」

This quotation foretells Bao-chai's unhappy destiny. After the family had arranged Bao-chai's marriage with Bao-yu, who had been led to believe that he was marrying Dai-yu, he was shattered by Dai-yu's death. Bao-yu fulfills the Confucian obligation to the family by passing the civil service examination and having a son with Bao-chai. He then disappears and becomes a monk.

Dai-yu's set of threesomes (NB70, NB342)

Hawkes writes the details of Dai-yu's set of threesomes on NB341 as follows:

Fig. 2-64: NB342

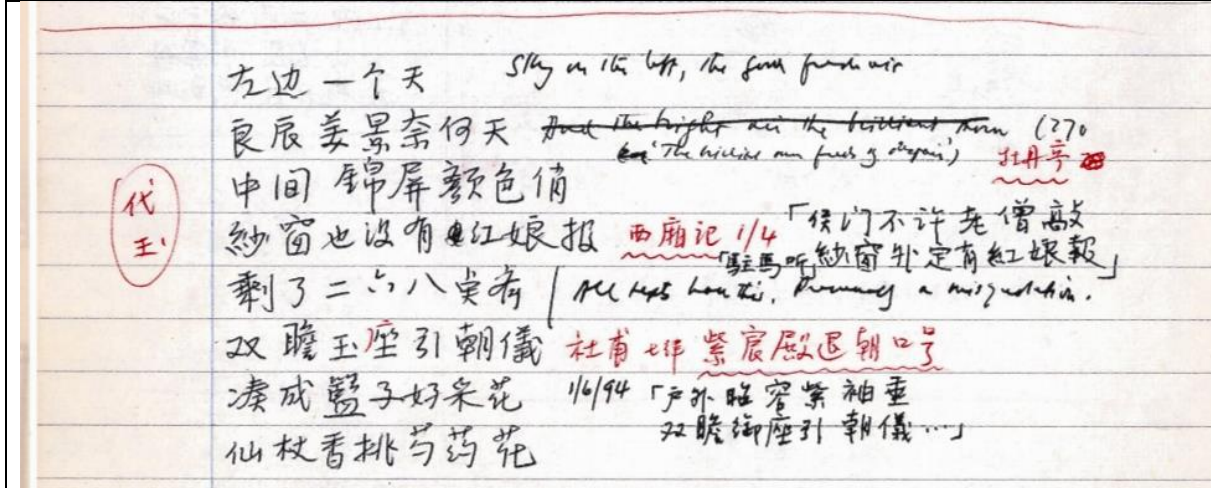


Fig. 2-65: Dai-yu: The first call:

Domino	Quotation
	<p>左邊一個「天」。Sky on the left, the good fresh air;</p> <p>良辰美景奈何天。Bright air and brilliant morn feed my despair;</p> <p>(R II, 40, 493) (P II, 40, 301)</p>

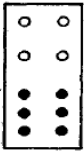
CC:

Domino: the conventional name for double six is the sky.

Quotation: Dai-yu gives a quotation containing the sky 天 to match it.

Reference (NB342): Hawkes identifies the line as originating from *The Return of the Soul* 牡丹亭³⁶ in which Du Liniang, the female protagonist sings to the tune of “Zaoluopao” (皂羅袍) of her awareness that her own beauty will soon pass.

Hawkes also gives a draft of the translation of this line on NB432 (with his first version crossed out, and his second version of the draft (“The brilliant morn feeds my despair” (NB342) slightly modified as ‘Bright air and brilliant morn feed my despair’) (P II, 40, 301) for the published translation.

Fig. 2-66: Dai-yu: The second call:	
Domino	Quotation
	<p>中間「錦屏」顏色俏。A four and a six, the Painted Screen; 紗窗也沒有紅娘報。No Reddie at the window seen;</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(R II,40, 493) (P II, 40, 301)</p>

CC:

Domino: the four red dots on the top, together with the six green dots at the bottom forming a rectangle shape, like a screen. Dai-yu refers to the 6 green dots as the window, most of which are made of green gauze.

Quotation:

Dai-yu gives a quotation from *Western Chamber* 西廂記³⁷ (Book the First, Act 4). Dai-yu implies that she is not as fortunate as Ying-ying who has a go-between (Reddie 紅娘) to help her and her lover. Reddie is the maid in *Western Chamber* who helps her mistress, Ying-ying, to arrange a tryst with her lover, Scholar Zhang.

Reference (NB342): Hawkes notes that the line 紗窗也沒有紅娘報 originates from *Western Chamber* 西廂記 (Book the First, Act 4) in a section sung by Zhang (the male protagonist), and writes down the two lines containing Dai-yu's quotation 侯門不許老僧敲, 紗窗外定有紅娘報, and the tune to which the lines are sung, "Zhumating" 駐馬听.

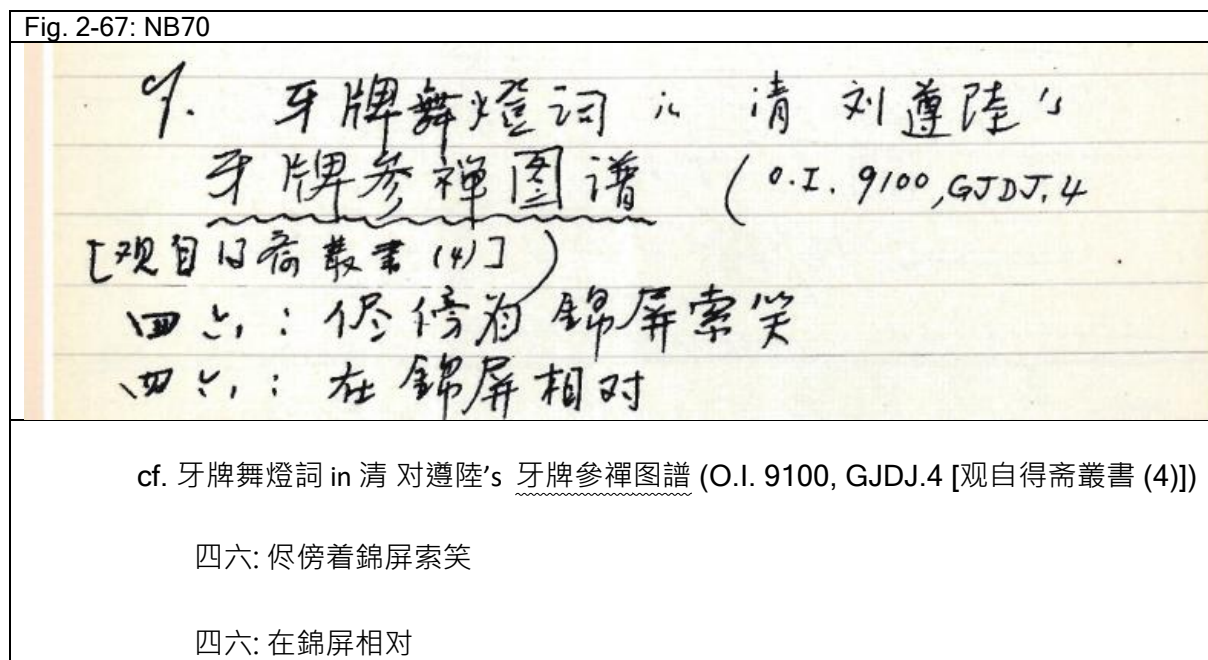
Re the quotation on 紅娘, Haweks notices the difference in text between *HLM* and *Western Chamber*. Hawkes writes on NB342 "All text have this, presumably a misquotation." (see Fig. 2-64), remarking that the same expression 紗窗外也沒有紅娘報 occurring in other texts of *HLM* such as *Gengcheng*, *Qianchao* and *Yu*, which differs from 紗窗外定有紅娘報 in *Western Chamber*.

Re 「錦屏」, Hawkes consults three reference sources through which he extracted 4 quotations as follows: (NB70)

Source One: 牙牌舞燈詞 in 牙牌參禪圖譜 by 清 劉遵陸 ³⁸

Hawkes writes down the Oriental Institute call number "(O.I. 9100 GJDJ.4 [觀自得齋叢書 (4)])" as follows:

Fig. 2-67: NB70



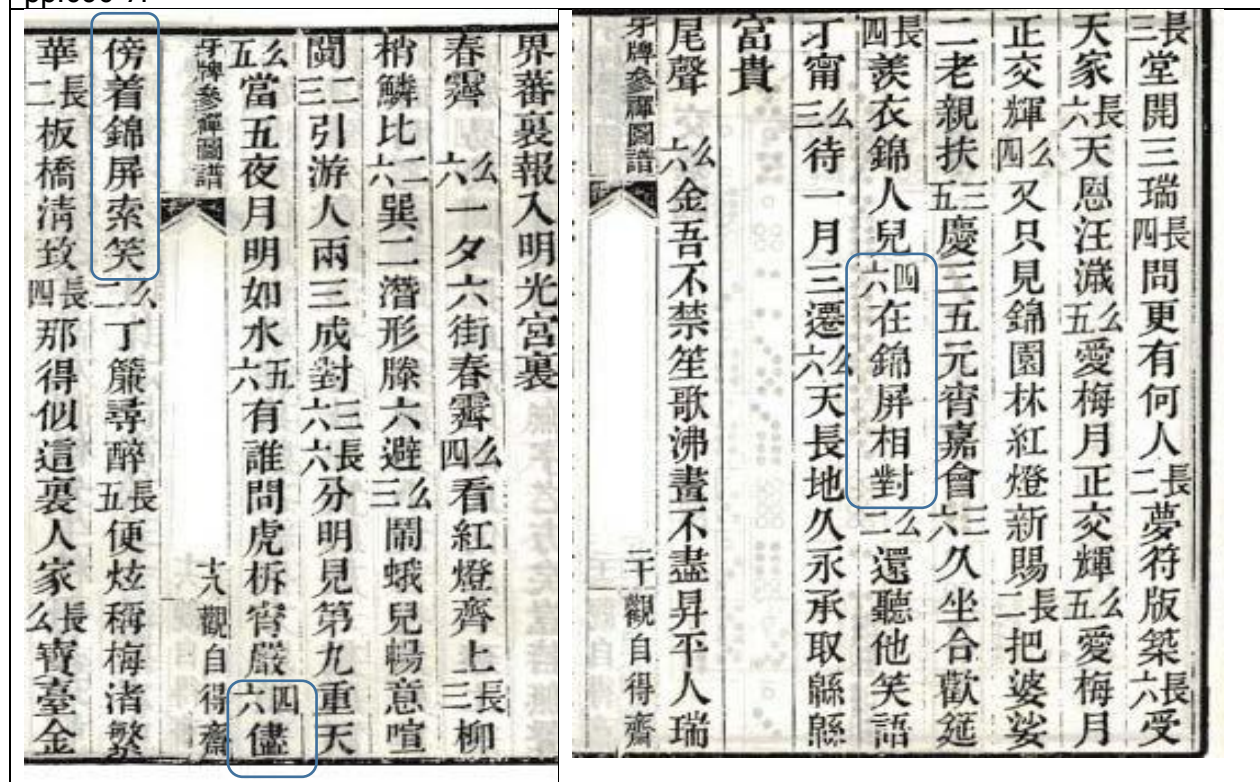
cf. 牙牌舞燈詞 in 清 劉遵陸's 牙牌參禪圖譜 (O.I. 9100, GJDJ.4 [觀自得齋叢書 (4)])

四六: 仍傍着錦屏索笑

四六: 在錦屏相對

The following is an extract from 牙牌舞燈詞 in 牙牌參禪圖譜:

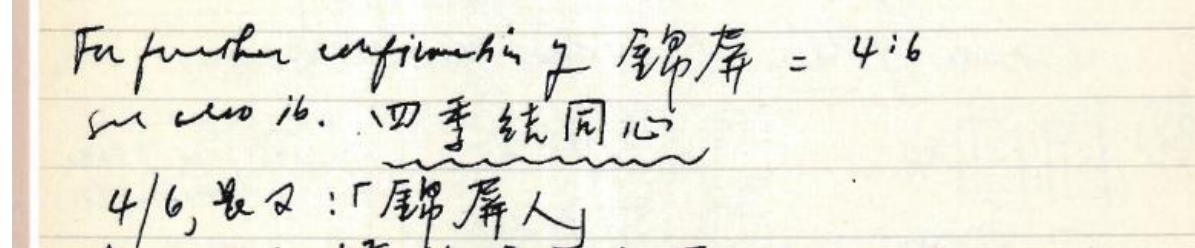
Fig. 2-68: Liu, Zunlu 劉遵陸. *Yapai canchan tupu* 牙牌參禪圖譜. Taipei: Xin wen feng, 1989, pp.696-7. ³⁸



Source Two: 四季結同心 in 牙牌參禪圖譜 by 清 劉遵陸 ³⁸

Hawkes provides more reference on 四六 as follows: (NB70)

Fig. 2-69: NB70



For further confirmation of 錦屏 = 4:6

See also ib. 四季結同心

4/6, 長四:「錦屏人」

The following is an extract from 四季結同心 in 牙牌參禪圖譜:

Fig. 2-70: Liu, Zunlu 劉遵陸. *Yapai canchan tupu* 牙牌參禪圖譜. Taipei: Xin wen feng, 1989, p.699. ³⁸

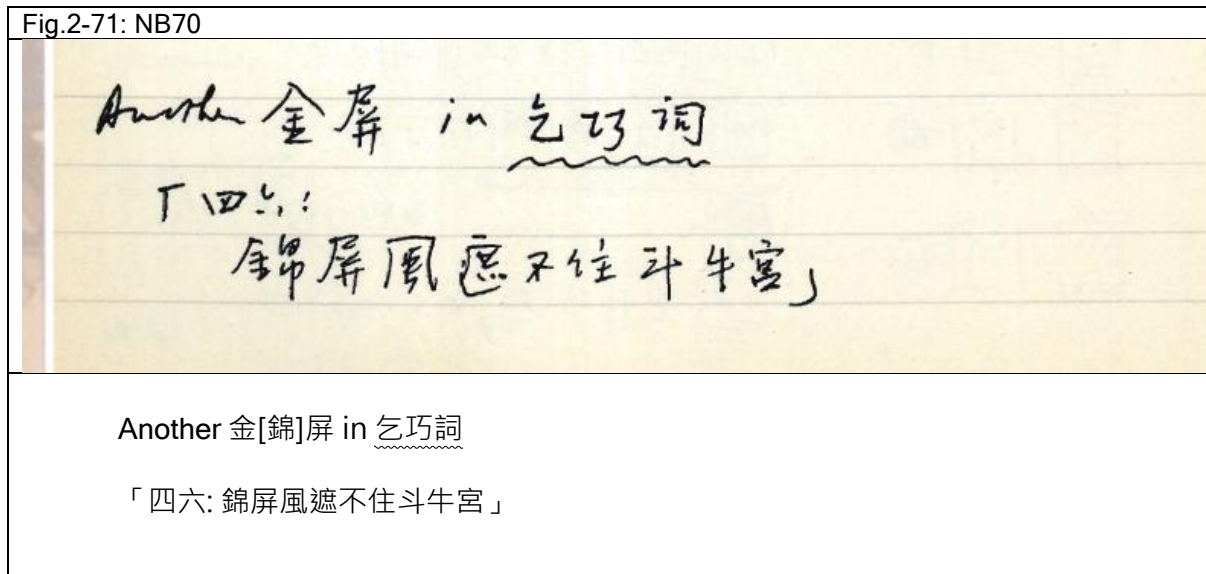


四季結同心

三案妒芍緋蘿爭柳翠長更繡球簇簇長錦帶
 垂垂五參伍着樓臺如繪四長錦屏人四再四
 低徊六總則爲評紅選綠六二六時中能幾時
 長况雙丸竝曜上下爭馳五算月逢四五延晴
 暑五奈七襄暗渡二長早賓鴻兩兩南飛五方見
 六橋梅蕊三又開剩兩三枝四今若箇一樽相
 聚紅窗裏六經過些六張五角長從此後連珠
 牙牌參禪圖譜
 好運都如意五正五雲月圓一規長剛十雨花
 開竝蒂三俺和你五花月且同嬉六么也不枉
 方圓奇偶成佳配三說甚麼脂唇黛眉六長金釵
 十二長三長長長但願得地久天長團圓不離二
 二便與你相對賞心快活到百廿抵過了二百
 四

Source Three: 乞巧詞 in 牙牌參禪圖譜 by 清 劉遵陸 ³⁸ (NB70)


Fig.2-71: NB70



The following is an extract from 乞巧詞 in 牙牌參禪圖譜 by 清 劉遵陸

Fig. 2-72: Liu, Zunlu 劉遵陸. *Yapai canchan tupu* 牙牌參禪圖譜. Taipei: Xin wen feng, 1989, p.700. ³⁸



Fig. 2-73: Dai-yu: The third call:	
Domino	Quotation
	<p>剩了「二六」八點齊。 A two and a six, four twos make eight; 雙瞻玉座引朝儀。 In twos walk backwards from the Hall of State; (R II, 40, 493) (P II, 40, 301)</p>

CC:

Domino: A two and a six ;

Quotation: the four twos form two neat and tidy lines, which Dai-yu compares to the officials lining up on two sides at the Emperor's court to pay respect to the Emperor. 玉座 is adapted from 御座 (the Emperor's seat), referring now to the seat of Bao-yu, whose name contains the character, 玉.

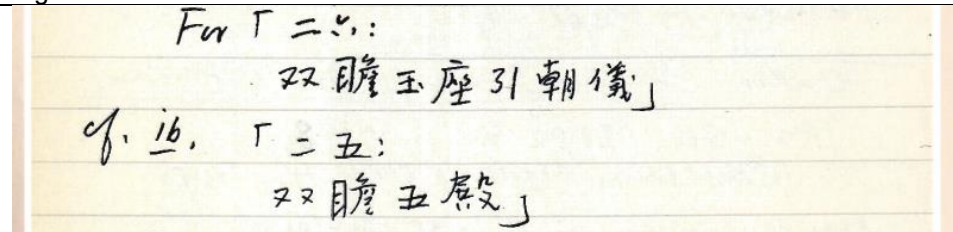
Reference (NB342): Hawkes identifies the line as originating from the poem 紫宸殿退朝口號 from the Tang poet, Du Fu 杜甫 and writes out the first 2 lines of the poem, and page number (1/6/94) of 杜少陵集詳註 ³⁹. (the source he has written down on top of NB342 for the quotation of Bao-chai)

「戶外昭容紫袖垂
雙瞻御座引朝儀 ...」

The poem describes the fate of the poet who had once been a trusted counselor of the Emperor, until he was demoted. This symbolizes Dai-yu's tragic fate in not being able to be united eventually with Bao-yu.

Reference (NB70):

For the domino, Hawkes again quotes from 牙牌舞燈詞 in 牙牌參禪圖譜 by 清 劉遵陸 ³⁸ and writes as follows: (NB70)

Fig. 2-74: NB70	
	
<p>For 「二六: 雙瞻玉座引朝儀」</p> <p>cf. ib. 「二五: 雙瞻五殿」</p>	

Reference: Dai-yu expresses her bonding with Bao-yu, as peonies symbolize love, and in ancient China, were exchanged by lovers.

Ying-chun's first call (NB342)

Hawkes provides the details of Ying-yun's first call as follows:

Fig. 2-77: NB342

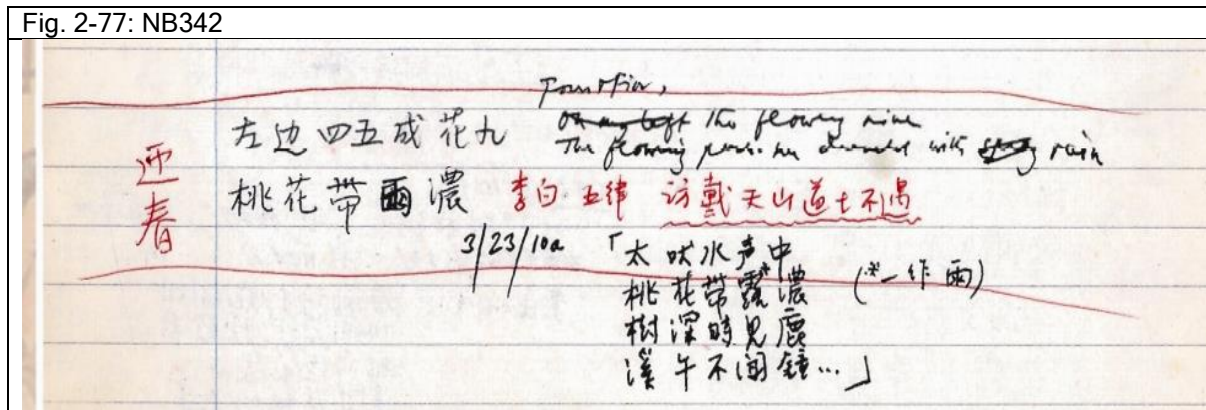
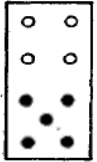


Fig. 2-78: Ying-chun: The first call

Domino	Quotation
	<p>左邊「四五」成花九。 Four and five, the Flowery Nine;</p> <p>桃花帶雨濃。 The flowering peach-tree drenched with rain;</p> <p>(R II, 40, 493) (P II, 40, 301-2)</p>

CC:

Domino: the four red dots on the top and the five green dots at the bottom make the Flowery Nine.

Quotation: Ying-chun uses a flowering tree to match with the Flowery Nine.

Reference (NB342): Hawkes identifies the line as taken from 訪戴天山道士不遇 by Li Bai 李白.⁴⁰ The poem describes the poet's unsuccessful attempt to meet a Taoist recluse on the mountain.

Hawkes gives the source, 3/23/10a, which clearly refers to 李太白全集, the title which he has written on top of NB342 re Bao-chai's quotation from the same poet, Li Bai. Hawkes writes out an extract of the poem on NB342 as follows:

DH: 「太[犬]吠水聲中
桃花帶露*濃 (*一作雨)
樹深時見鹿
溪午不聞鐘」

CC:

Hawkes indicates that the character 露 (dew) of 桃花帶露濃 is in some versions replaced with 雨 (rain), making it 桃花帶雨濃. Accordingly, Hawkes adopts “rain” in the published translation, “The flowering peach-tree drenched with rain” (P II, 40, 302).

Also, Hawkes writes on NB342 the translation of the domino and the quotation, which is the same as in the published translation.

Granny Liu's set of threesomes (NB343)

Hawkes provides the details of Grannie Liu's set of threesomes on NB343 as follows:

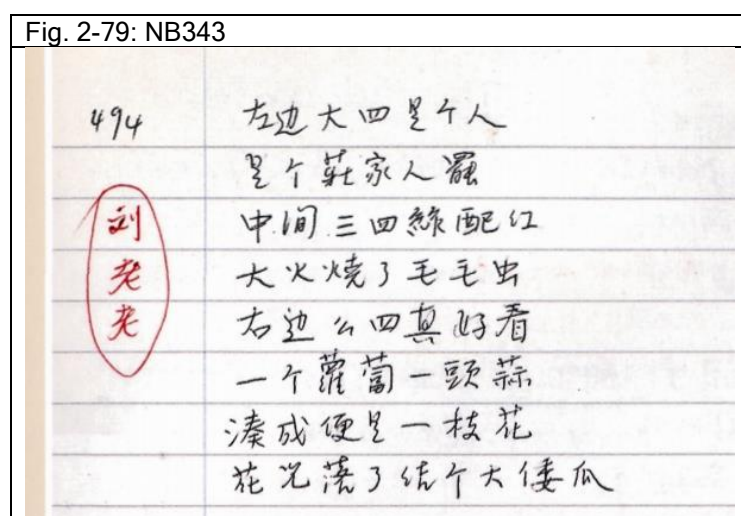
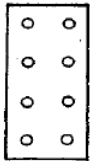



Fig. 2-80: Grannie Liu: The first call:	
Domino	Quotation
	<p>左邊「大四」是個「人」。A pair of fours on the left, the Man; 是個莊家人罷。 Is it a farmer;</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(R II,40, 494) (P II, 40, 302)</p>

CC:

Domino: a pair of fours;

Quotation: Grannie Liu refers to the man as a farmer.

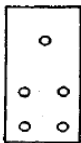
Reference (NB69) (P II, App II, 586): “A double four, ‘man’.”

Fig. 2-81: Grannie Liu: The second call:	
Domino	Quotation
	<p>中間「三四」綠配紅。 Green three, red four, contrasting colours; 大火燒了毛毛蟲。 The fire burns up the caterpillars;</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(R II, 40, 494) (P II, 40, 302)</p>

CC:

Domino: Green three and red four;

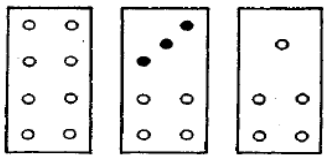
Quotation: Grannie Liu refers to the slanting three as caterpillars, the four at the bottom represents the fire.

Fig. 2-82: Grannie Liu: The third call:	
Domino	Quotation
	<p>右邊「么四」真好看。 Red four on the right and the ace is red; 一個蘿蔔一頭蒜。 A turnip and a garlic-head;</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(R II,40, 494) (P II, 40, 302)</p>

CC:

Domino: four and ace;

Quotation: Ace is a red dot which Grannie Liu refers to as the turnip, the four green dots represent the garlic.

Fig. 2-83: Grannie Liu: The whole threesome:	
Domino	Quotation
	<p>湊成便是「一枝花」。“The Flower” those three together show; 花兒落了結個大倭瓜。 This flower will to a pumpkin grow;</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(R II,40, 494) (PII, 40, 303)</p>

CC:

The whole threesome: It represents a flower. Among the dots, only the three in the top middle are in green, which represents a flower, the other dots are all in red, representing the flower petals.

Quotation: Grannie Liu gives a quotation containing a flower to match the whole threesome.

It is worth noting here that Hawkes had from the earliest times at Peking University acquired the habit of copying large amounts of Chinese text. This can be observed from the documents preserved in the “David Hawkes Papers” at CUHK Library Archival Collections, the Chinese University of Hong Kong Library. (see Section 1.3.3). It is also one reason why his Chinese calligraphy is so fluent. In preparing for the complex task of translating this ‘dominoes’ section, he is more than willing to copy out large passages of Chinese text, to make sure that he has fully grasped the intricate contextual background and symbolic significance, and can incorporate them into his translation. Most translators would merely skim the surface. They would not have the patience to go into such detail.

2.1.13 Dictionaries and Encyclopedias: The Ancestral Temple of the Jia Family 賈氏宗祠 (Thurs 23 Nov 1972) (NB74, NB299 & NB358)

Chapter 53 describes the Ancestral Temple of the Jia family, including particularly the inscriptions. Hawkes provides the Chinese texts of these on NB358, and the draft translation (almost the same as in the published edition) on NB299. Details can be seen in the facsimile as follows:

Fig. 2-84: NB358

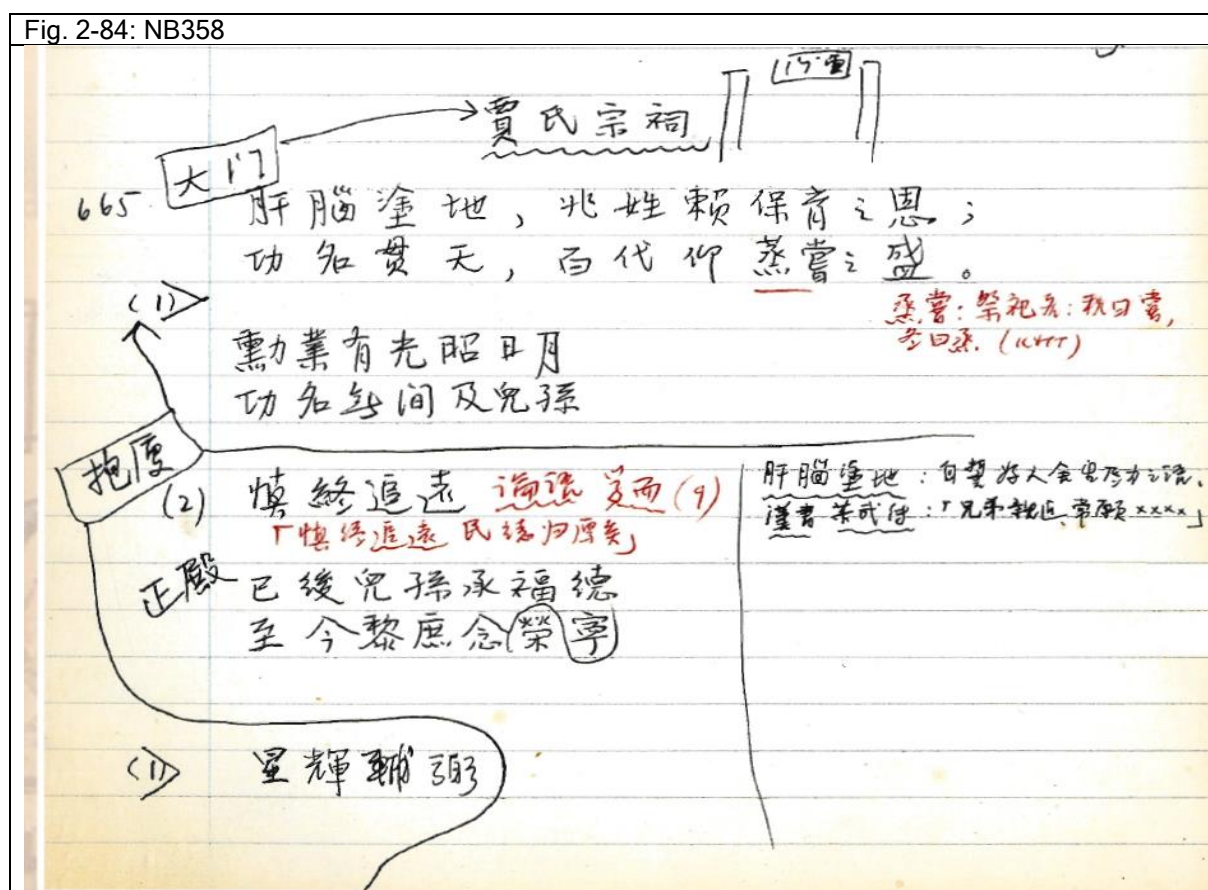
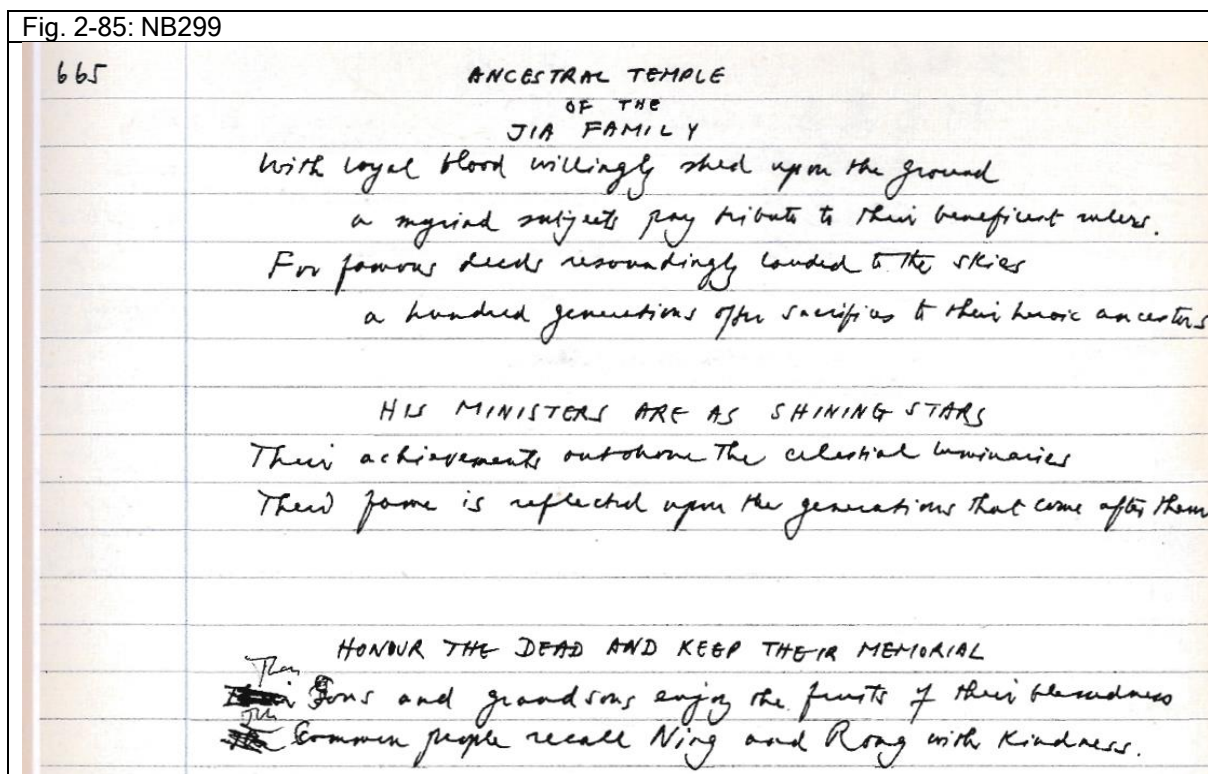


Fig. 2-85: NB299



肝腦塗地 (NB299 & NB358)

In the Ancestral Temple, there is a long couplet on two vertical boards at the sides of the arch as follows:

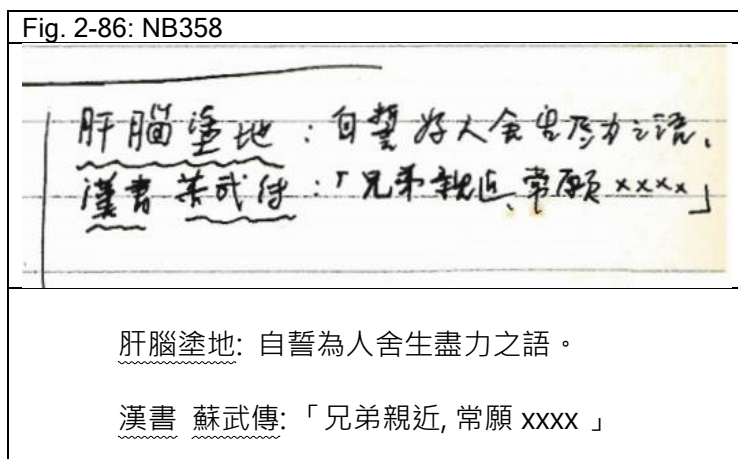
「肝腦塗地，兆姓賴保育之恩；

功名貫天，百代仰蒸嘗之盛。」

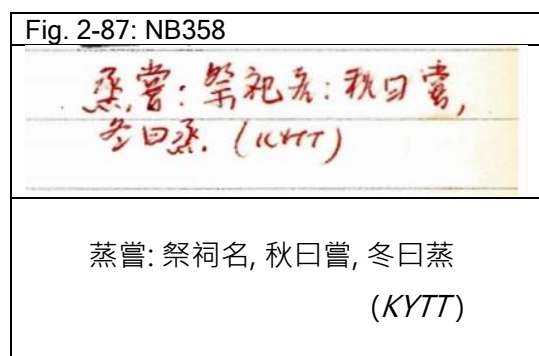
(R II 53, 665)

On NB358, after writing down the couplet, Hawkes gives the source for the expression 肝腦塗地 in *Han Shu*⁴¹ as follows:

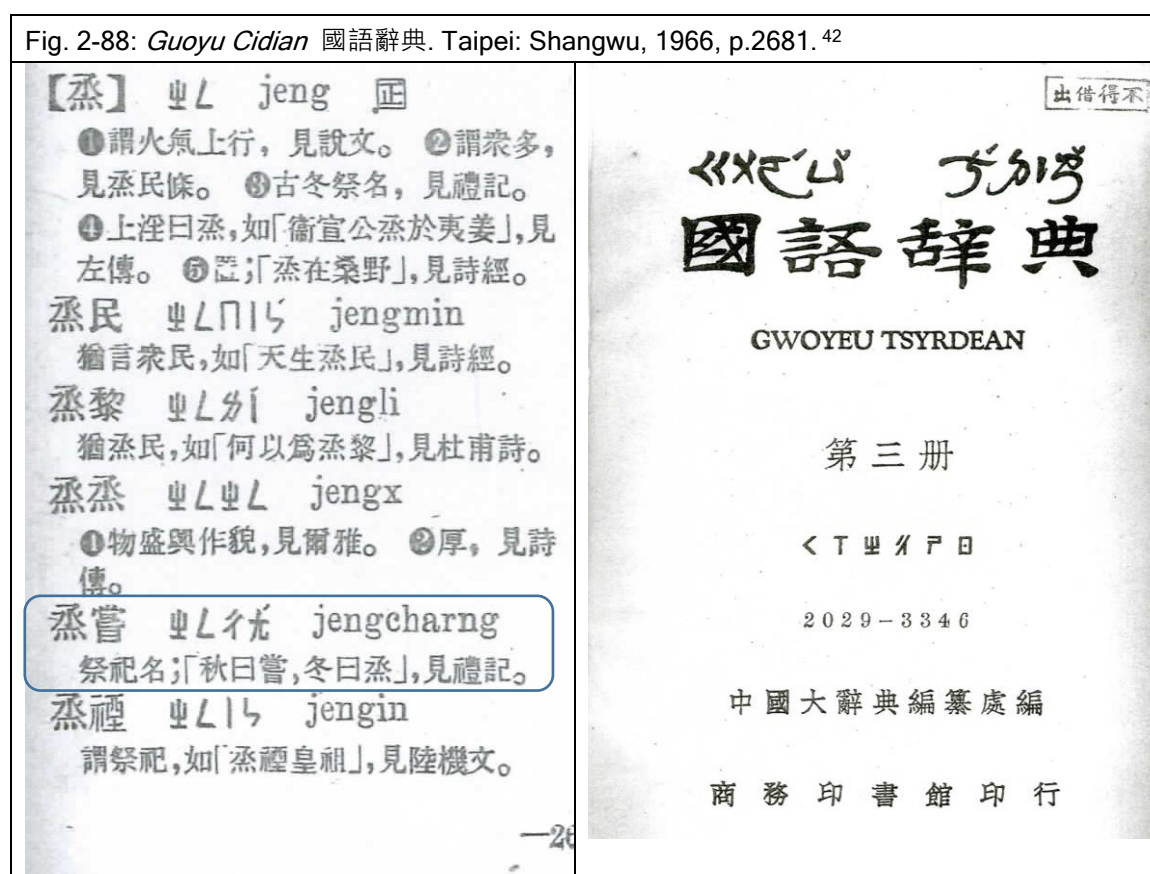
Fig. 2-86: NB358



Also, Hawkes writes the meaning of 蒸嘗 from *KYTT* as follows: (NB358)



KYTT is Hawkes' abbreviation for *Guoyu Cidian*,⁴² a dictionary to which he makes constant reference, and the entry he makes use of is shown below:



With reference to the above, Hawkes writes a draft of the translation of the two lines of the couplet on NB299, which is slightly modified for the published translation:

<i>HLM</i> (R II, 53, 665)	NB299	<i>Stone</i> (P II, 53, 568)
肝腦塗地,	With loyal blood willingly shed upon the ground	With loyal blood poured out willingly upon the ground
兆姓賴保育之恩;	a myriad subjects pay tribute to their beneficent rulers	a myriad subjects pay tribute to their benevolent rulers
功名貫天,	For famous deeds resoundingly lauded to the skies	For famous deeds lauded resoundingly to the skies
百代仰蒸嘗之盛。	a hundred generations offer sacrifices to their heroic ancestors	

The couplet is formatted in the published translation as if it is displayed on the boards, Hawkes providing no punctuation at the end of the lines, despite the use of punctuation in the modern Chinese text. This applies to the other inscriptions, 星輝輔弼 and 慎終追遠 discussed in this Section.

星輝輔弼 (NB74, NB299 & NB358)

Inside the gate of the Temple, over the entrance to the vestibule a board with the the expression 星輝輔弼 inscribed in the late Emperor's calligraphy. (R II, 53, 665)

The inscriptions down the two sides were also written by the same Emperor. Hawkes renders them as follows:

星輝輔弼 HIS MINISTERS ARE AS SHINING STARS

勲業有光昭日月, Their achievements outshone the celestial luminaries

功名無間及兒孫。 Their fame is reflected in the generations that come after them

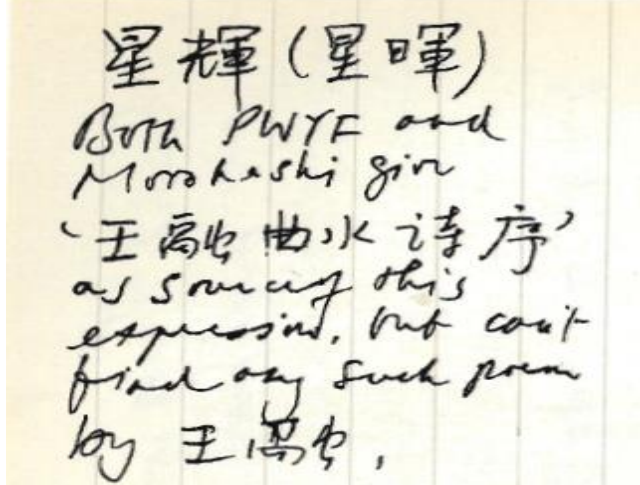
(R II, 53, 665) (P II, 53, 569)

Hawkes gives the translation of 星輝輔弼 all in capital letters so as to match the format of the board.

The draft translation of the couplet is the same as the published version, except that in the second line, the latter has “in the generations” instead of the former’s “upon the generations” (NB299).

This is clearly a great compliment to the Jia Family (the principal family of *HLM*), describing the Jia's ancestors as being important ministers to the Emperor, just like shining stars to the sun and moon.

To check the meaning of the compound, 星輝, Hawkes consults two of the most authoritative dictionaries on literary Chinese, *Morohashi* ⁴³ and *PWYF*, ^{44, 45} as shown on NB74.

Fig. 2-89: NB74	
	<p>星輝 (星暉)</p> <p>Both <i>PWYF</i> and <i>Morohashi</i> give '王融曲水詩序'</p> <p>as source of this expression, but can't find any such poem by 王融.</p>

PWYF and *Morohashi* give the meaning of the expression 星輝 (星暉) as follows:

Fig. 2-90: PWYF 44, 45	Fig. 2-91: <i>Morohashi</i> ⁴³
<p>欽定四庫全書 御定佩文韻府 卷五之十四</p> <p>場帝詩雨霏春光潤日落暉——東華宸暉蘇瓊詩恩深蒼 上房靈妃歌左拔員靈曜右製丹——淺留得奉——</p> <p>玩飛花之入戶看——之度察徐陵春日詩岸烟起黃色岸 ——李商隱詩參差連曲陌迢迢送——歐陽修春懷詞珠箔 帶透——蘇軾詩抱琴無語立——朱子霞暉何遜詩山烟 詩正好臨風眺平野却須入谷避——色江水映——</p> <p>響龍月自——劉禹錫觀雲——星暉王融曲水詩序雲 篇慈龍含晚景潔素凝————斜暉梁簡 昭淨————蘭暉王儉詩風光承露——秋暉謝莊文踴躍冬愛 ————————————————————————</p>	<p>【星輝】⁶⁷ 星のひかり。〔王融、三月三日曲水 詩序〕雲潤星暉、風揚月至。〔唐高宗、太廟樂章〕 海濂星暉、遠安邇肅。</p> <p>【星輝】⁷⁰ 星のひかり。星暉。</p>

星輝 (星暉)

Hawkes records on NB74 that in *Morohashi* 星輝 is interchangeable with 星暉.

As shown by the above, *Morohashi* 大漢和辭典 provides the meaning of 星輝 in Japanese, 星のひかり, and shows another term having the same meaning, 星暉, which is interchangeable with 星輝.

Under the entry 星暉, *Morohashi* 大漢和辭典 provides the source for the expression, giving the long title, 三月三日曲水詩序, “Preface for Poems composed on the Third Day of the Third

Month by Meandering Streams” by Wang Rong 王融. It also provides the context for 星暉, the phrase 雲潤星暉, 風揚月至 in which the expression appears.

As *Peiwen Yunfu* is organized by the rhymes of the last characters of the phrases, the expressions are to be looked up by the sound of the last characters of the expression, which, in this case, is 暉. Under the entry 暉, expressions ending in 暉 are listed.

PWYF shows the source of the expression 星暉, giving the short title 曲水詩序 “Preface for Poems composed by Meandering Streams” by Wang Rong 王融.

As with *Morohashi*, *PWYF* provides the phrase in which 星暉 appears, 雲潤星暉, 風揚月至, which means the clouds embellish the starlight, the wind blows and the moon rises, which highlights the brightness of the shining stars.

Armed with the above, Hawkes simply renders the expression 星輝 as “SHINING STARS”.

(R II, 53, 665) (P II, 53 569)

Preface 三月三曰曲水詩序: ⁴⁶

Having identified the preface 三月三曰曲水詩序 as the source of the expression, Hawkes goes on further to look for the Wang poem itself. As shown on NB74, Hawkes remarks that he cannot find any such poem by Wang Rong 王融.

三月三曰 (The Third Day of the Third Month) refers to the annual spring festival, and this 詩序 is a preface written by Wang Rong 王融 for the occasion which took place at Meandering Streams 曲水.

At the spring ceremony, at which all the courtiers wrote poems as celebration, Wang Rong 王融, whose prose was considered the best at court was appointed by the Emperor to write the Preface to the resulting compositions. This is how the Preface came about. This is, in fact, a preface written for an occasion, not a preface for an individual poem by Wang Rong 王融.

慎終追遠 (NB299 & NB358)

The expressions inscribed at the entrance to the main hall of the Temple are as follows:

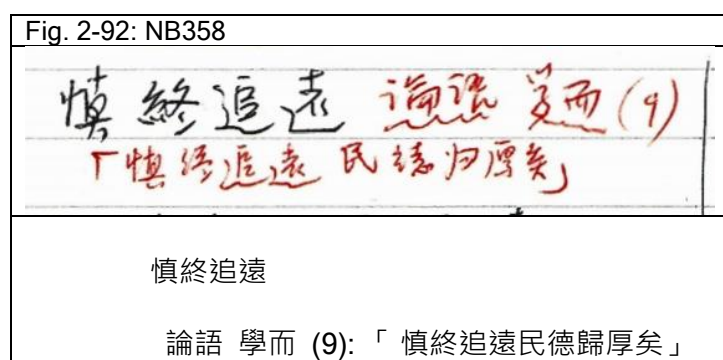
「慎終追遠」

「已後兒孫承福德」

至今黎庶念寧榮。」

(R II, 53, 665)

Hawkes writes on NB358 the source for the expression:



The expression originates from the Analects ⁴⁷, and advocates the importance of remembering our ancestors.

Based on the above, Hawkes renders the board and the inscriptions as follows:

慎終追遠 HONOUR THE DEAD AND KEEP THEIR MEMORIAL

已後兒孫承福德， Their sons and grandsons enjoy the fruits of their blessedness

至今黎庶念寧榮。 The common people recall Ning and Rong with kindness

(R II, 53, 665) (P II, 53, 569)

The draft translation of the couplet is the same as the published version, except that in the first line, the latter has 'enjoy' instead of "enjoying" on NB299.

2.1.14 Specialised Dictionaries: Down at heel 鞋塌拉襪塌拉 (Fri 1 Dec 1972) (NB75)

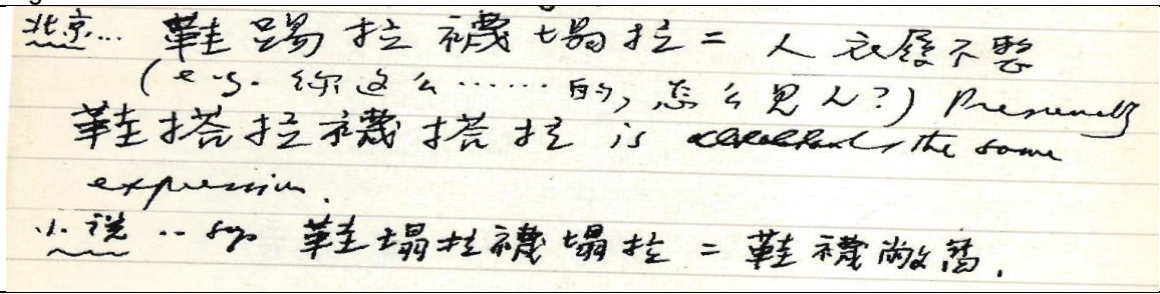
鞋塌拉襪塌拉 is an expression which Aunt Zhao uses to complain about Tan-chun's lack of care for her brother, Jia Huan, who is in a sorry state.

In Chapter 27, Aunt Zhao (Jia Zheng's concubine) is furious when she knows that Tan-chun, her own daughter, is making shoes for Bao-yu, her half-brother.

Aunt Zhao says jealously that Jia Huan, Tan-chun's natural brother, is 鞋塌拉襪塌拉, but Tan-chun doesn't care about him, and she makes shoes for Bao-yu instead. (R I, 27, 321)

Regarding the expression 鞋塌拉襪塌拉, we can trace Hawkes' investigations. He consults 北京話語匯⁴⁸ and 小說詞語匯釋⁴⁹ and writes as follows:

Fig. 2-93: NB75

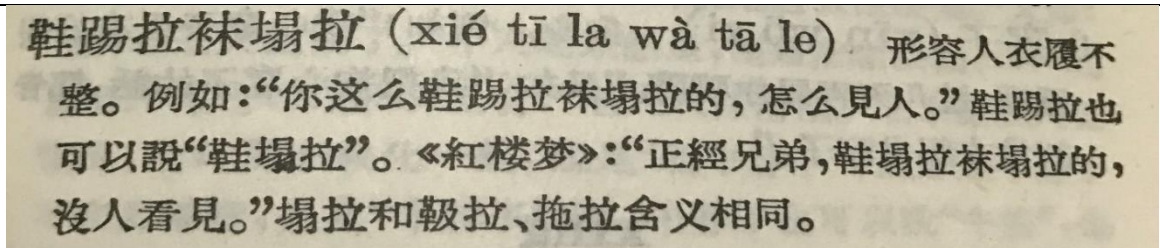


北京... 鞋踢拉襪塌拉 = 人衣履不整
(e.g. 你这么.....的, 怎么见人?) Presumably
鞋搭拉襪搭拉 is ~~related~~ the same
expression.
小說... says 鞋塌拉襪塌拉 = 鞋襪敝舊.

北京... 鞋踢拉襪塌拉 = 人衣履不整
(e.g. 你这么.....的, 怎么见人?) Presumably
鞋搭[塌]拉襪塔拉 is the same expression.
小說..... says 鞋塌拉襪塌拉 = 鞋襪敝舊

Beijinghua yuhui 北京話語匯 has 鞋踢拉襪塌拉 rather than 鞋塌拉襪塌拉, and indicates that 踢拉 has the same meaning as 塌拉 which is what we find in the Renmin version.

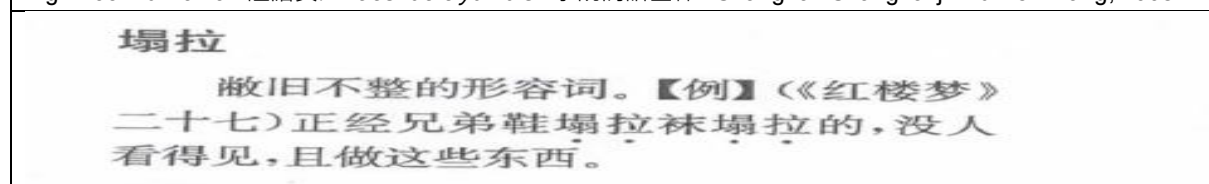
Fig. 2-94: Jin Shoushen 金受申. *Beijinghua yuhui* 北京話語匯. Beijing: Shangwu, 1961, p.221.⁴⁸



鞋踢拉襪塌拉 (xié tī la wà tā le) 形容人衣履不整。例如：“你这么鞋踢拉襪塌拉的，怎么见人。”鞋踢拉也可以說“鞋塌拉”。《紅樓夢》：“正經兄弟，鞋塌拉襪塌拉的，沒人看見。”塌拉和靸拉、拖拉含义相同。

Xiaoshuo ciyu huishi 小說詞語匯釋 gives the meaning of 鞋塌拉襪塌拉 as follows:

Fig. 2-95: Lu Dan'an 陸澹安. *Xiaoshuo ciyu huishi* 小說詞語匯釋. Shanghai: Shanghai jinxu wenzhang, 2008. ⁴⁹



Thus, both dictionaries give similar meaning to the expression 鞋塌拉襪塌拉:

北京話語匯:衣履不整 (literally, untidy in clothing)

小說詞語匯釋:鞋襪敝舊 (literally, shoes and socks worn out)

Accordingly, Hawkes renders the expression 鞋塌拉襪塌拉 as follows:

「正經親兄弟, 鞋塌拉襪塌拉的, 」 (R I, 27, 321)

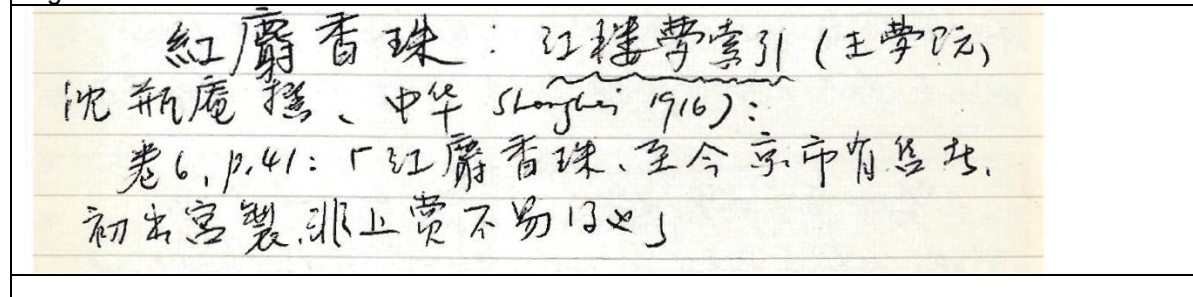
“Her own natural brother so down at heel” (P II, 27, 36)

2.1.15 A Slip of the Pen: Red musk-scented medicine-beads 紅麝香珠 (Wed 6 Dec 1972) (NB76)

As shown in Chapter 28, among the presents that Yuan-chun, the imperial Concubine, gives her family for the Double Fifth Festival was 紅麝香珠 “two strings of red musk-scented medicine-beads” for Bao-yu. (R I, 28, 338) (P II, 28, 64)

For the expression, 紅麝香珠, on NB76, Hawkes gives his reference source, 紅樓夢索引 by 王夢阮 and Shen Ping'an 沈瓶庵, ⁵⁰ and but here he makes a slip of the pen as the correct title of the book is, in fact, 紅樓夢索隱. He copies the description as follows:

Fig. 2-96: NB76



紅麝香珠: 紅樓夢索引[隱] (王夢阮, 沈瓶庵撰, 中華 Shanghai 1916):

卷 6, p. 41: 「紅麝香珠, 至今京市有售者, 初出宮製, 非上賞不易得也」

The description 「紅麝香珠, 至今京市有售者, 初出宮製, 非上賞不易得也」 shown above means that red musk-scented medicine-beads could, by the early twentieth century, be freely bought in the markets in the capital. In earlier times, these were exclusively made for use in the Palace, and those outside the Imperial family would only receive them as gifts from the Emperors. They were thus very exclusive gifts from the Imperial Concubine.

2.1.16 Mathews' Dictionary: Lilac-coloured 藕合 (Fri 2 Feb 1973) (NB88)

In Chapter 30, Bao-yu comes to visit Dai-yu, trying to make up after their quarrel two days before. Bao-yu says he will follow Dai-yu wherever she goes. Dai-yu asks in response what would happen if she were dead. Bao-yu remarks that he would become a monk if Dai-yu were dead. Dai-yu is offended by his ridiculous remark, and weeps.

However, Bao-yu has been in a highly emotional state when he comes to see Dai-yu and is even more distressed to have accidentally upset her so quickly after arriving.

Bao-yu starts to cry. However, he realizes he has not brought along a handkerchief with him. So, he wipes his eyes on the sleeve of his new lilac-coloured summer gown, 簇新藕合紗衫.

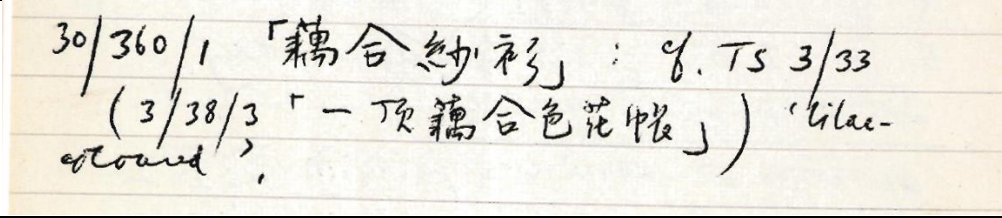
(R I, 30, 360)

Dai-yu notices this. She reaches for the silk cloth hung over the bed and tosses it to him. Bao-yu can feel Dai-yu's affection towards him, though Dai-yu is displaying a variety of emotions.

For the colour 藕合 of Bao-yu's summer gown, Hawkes recalls the same expression in Chapter 3, 一頂藕合色花帳 which he translates as 'lilac-coloured hangings', as shown on NB88.

(R I, 3, 38) (P I, 3, 105)

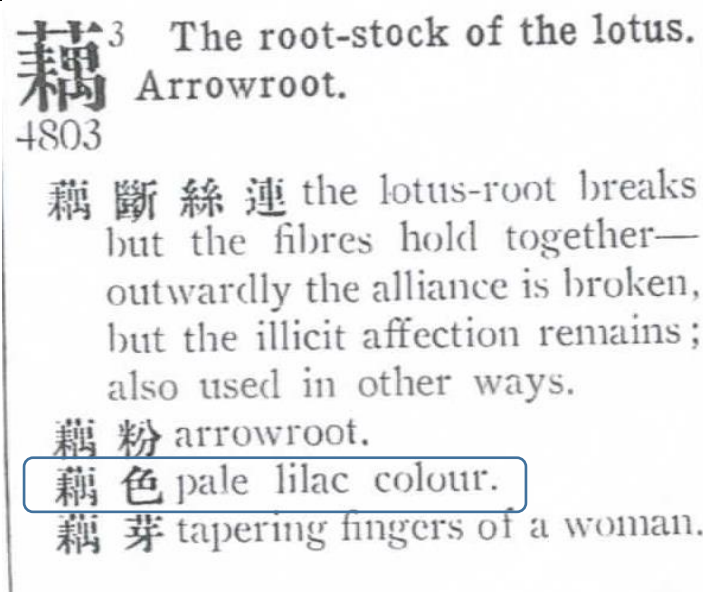
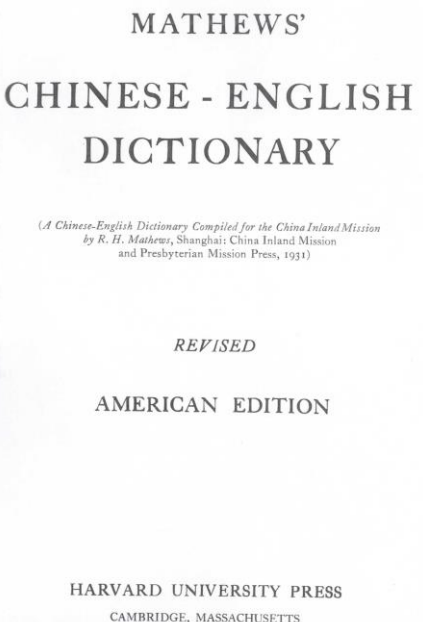
Fig. 2-97: NB88

	
<p>30/360/1 「藕合紗衫」: cf. TS 3/33 (3/38/3 「一頂藕合色花帳」) 'lilac-coloured'.</p>	

Hawkes' thoroughness is shown on NB88 in his detailed description of the pagination of the Renmin edition, even down to the line number, in this case, 30/360/1 refers to Chapter 30, p.360, line 1. Presumably, TS 3/33 refers to his typescript, Chapter 3. p.33.

It is very likely that Hawkes had consulted Mathews' *Chinese-English Dictionary*⁵¹ which was one of his most frequently used sources of reference. Mathews' gives "pale lilac colour" for 藕色.

Fig. 2-98: Mathews, Robert Henry. *Chinese-English Dictionary*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1943, p.666.⁵¹

	
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Thus, Hawkes translates 「簇新藕合紗衫」 as "his brand-new lilac-coloured summer gown"

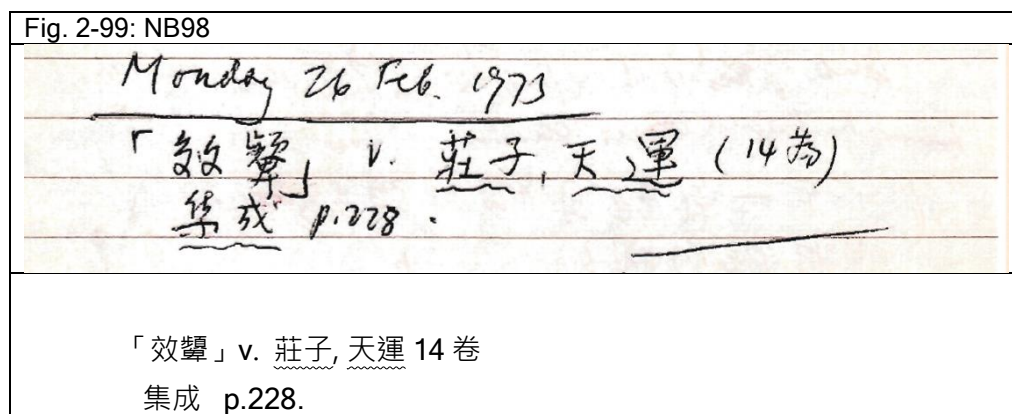
(R I, 30, 360) (P II, 30, 95)

2.1.17 Allusions: Zhuang-zi 莊子 / Jia Dao 賈島 (Mon 26 Feb 1973) (NB98)

Hawkes identifies allusions in the original text to various classical works. As shown on NB98, Hawkes consults the chapter entitled *Tianyun* 天運 of *Zhuang-zi* 莊子 for the famous story, 效顰 as mentioned by Bao-yu in Chapter 30. (R I, 30, 364)

Bao-yu comes back to Prospect Garden after visiting Lady Wang. He finds a girl (whom Bao-yu later finds out is the actor 齡官, Charmante) kneeling on the ground, with tears on her face. She is scratching the earth with a pin in her hand, and he is curious about what the girl is doing. Bao-yu recalls the incident earlier when Dai-yu buried flowers in the earth, and thinks that the girl is perhaps trying to imitate Dai-yu in burying flowers. Bao-yu remarks that the imitation of 效顰 is disgusting 可厭, referring to Zhuang-zi's story.

Hawkes traces the reference source for the allusion 效顰 as follows: (NB98)



集成 is Hawkes' abbreviation for 諸子集成⁵², which gives the story, 效顰, from Zhuang-zi as follows:

Xi-shi, a great beauty in the Han Dynasty, frowned because she was suffering from heartburn. An ugly woman was impressed by the beauty of the frown, and imitated Xi-shi, frowning at her neighbours, without knowing from where the beauty of the frown came. However, the ugly woman's frown only produced a negative impact, and people ran away from her.

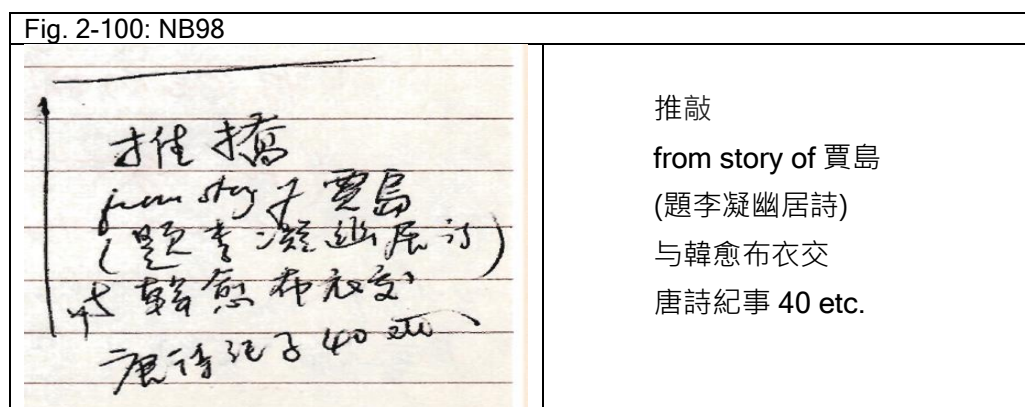
Accordingly, Hawkes renders 效顰 based on Tianyun 天運 of *Zhuang-zi* 莊子 as follows:

‘This is “imitating the Frowner” ‘ (P II, 30, 102)

Bao-yu continues to watch the girl, and figures out that she is 在地下畫着推敲, drawing on the ground to help herself decide which word is appropriate. (R I, 30,365)

In translating 效顰 as “the Frowner”, Hawkes is referring to both the character in Zhuang-zi’s story and to Dai-yu, as Bao-yu initially thinks the girl scratching the ground is imitating Dai-yu, whose pen-name is also “Frowner”.

Hawkes traces the meaning of 推 敲 with the following notes on NB98:



What Hawkes writes about here on NB98 can be paraphrased as follows:

推敲 originates from the anecdote about the poet 賈島 Jia Dao who, when he was composing the poem 題李凝幽居詩 (*On Li Ning's Hidden Retreat*), met 韓愈 (Han Yu), and the encounter led to their becoming close friends before they became important 賈島與韓愈布衣交. This anecdote is recorded in 唐詩紀事 40 (Chapter 40 of *Tangshi jishi*)⁵³, with details as follows:

The poem, *On Li Ning's Hidden Retreat* 題李凝幽居詩, was conceived by Jia Dao 賈島 at the time when he met Han Yu 韓愈, when 賈島 was contemplating two lines as follows:

鳥宿池中樹 The bird spends the night in the tree by the pool,
僧敲月下門 The monk **knocks** at the gate under the moonlight.⁵⁴

In the line, “the monk **knocks** at the gate under the moonlight,” Jia Dao could not decide whether to use “shove” 推 or “knock” 敲.

Jia, riding on the back of his mule, drew the characters 推 and 敲 in the air with his fingers, contemplating which of two words he should use. While he was doing so, he ran into the procession of Han Yu, the Metropolitan Governor of the Capital.

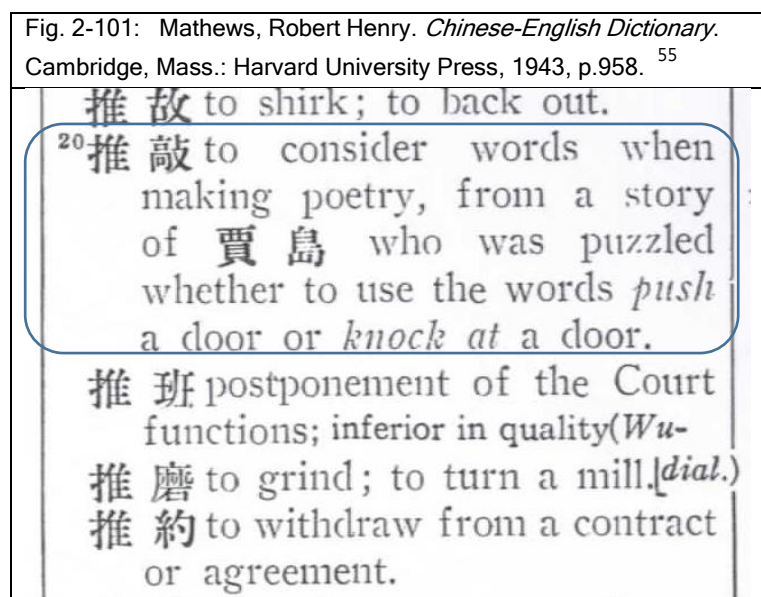
According to the law, Jia Dao, a commoner, should have made way for Han Yu, the official. However, Jia Dao was so absorbed in composing his verse that he did not notice the procession.

Jia Dao was dragged away by the officials for offending Han Yu. He apologized and explained that he was so engrossed in the choice of words for his verse that he had not been aware that he had run into the official.

Hearing this, Han Yu, replied that “knock” would be better 敲字佳矣. Then, he invited Jia Dao home for dinner. They became good friends through their shared interest in poetry.

Regarding the meaning of 推敲, Hawkes may possibly in the first instance have consulted Mathews’ *Chinese-English Dictionary* again.⁵⁵

The entry for 推敲 on p.958 of the Mathews’ dictionary is as follows:



Consequently, Hawkes paraphrases 推敲 as follows:

「或者偶成了兩句, 一時興至, 怕忘了, 在地下畫着推敲」 (R I, 30, 365)

“Probably she’s just thought of a good couplet and wants to write it down before she forgets it; or perhaps she has already composed several lines and wants to work on them a bit.”

(P II, 30, 103)

**2.1.18 Better off the Tongue: Hainan kid’s-blood pills 山羊血巉峒丸
(Mon 12 Mar 1973) (NB 100)**

山羊血巉峒丸 is what Bao-yu gives Aroma for treatment after he has kicked her by mistake in Chapter 30. (R II, 31, 369)

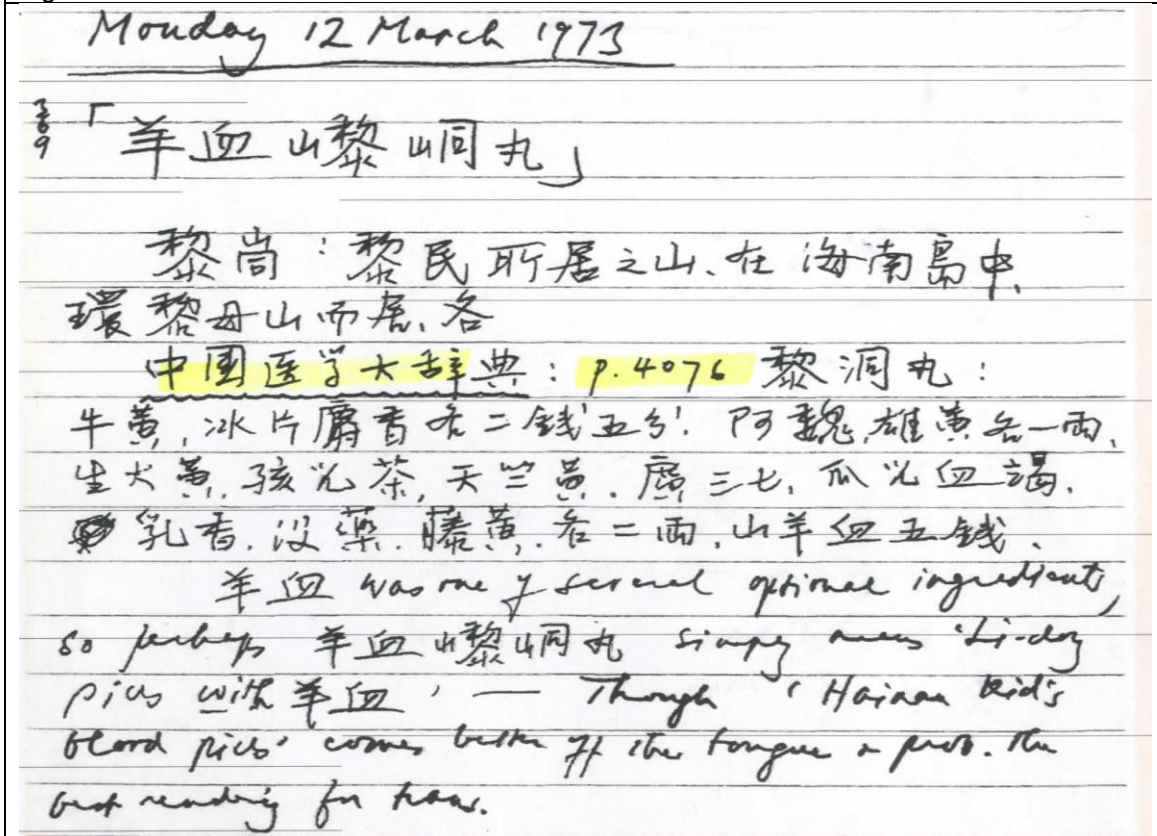
When Bao-yu comes back home, he finds that the gate has been closed. He knocks but nobody comes and he has to keep on shouting and banging on the gate. Bao-yu is in a really foul mood after he has been waiting outside the gate for some time, soaked in the rain.

When eventually someone comes to open the gate, Bao-yu kicks her hard in the ribs, not knowing that it is Aroma. Bao-yu feels very guilty though he had kicked her in ignorance. During the night, he tiptoes over to check up on Aroma. Horrified, he finds Aroma is spitting blood.

Bao-yu calls the maids to give Aroma hot rice wine and 山羊血巉峒丸, which is suitable for a wound caused by a kick.

Hawkes consults *Guoyu cidian* 國語辭典⁵⁶ and *Zhongguo yixue dacidian* 中國醫學大辭典⁵⁷ for the medicine, 山羊血巉峒丸, as shown on NB100:

Fig. 2-102: NB100



369 「羊血嶸峒丸」

黎嶸: 黎民所居之山, 在海南島中, 環黎母山而居, 各

中國醫學大辭典: p.4076 黎洞丸:

牛黃, 冰片麝香各二錢五分, 阿魏, 雄黃各一兩, 生大黃, 孩兒茶, 天竺

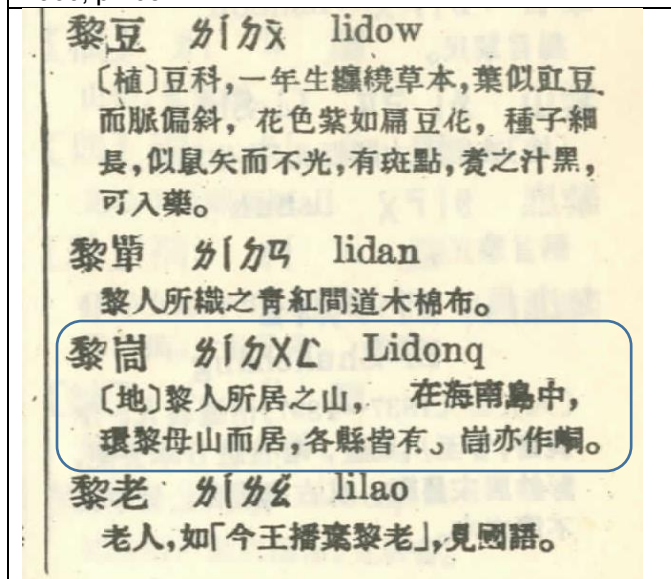
黃, 廣三七, 瓜兒血竭, 乳香, 沒藥, 藤黃, 各二兩, 山羊血五錢。

羊血 was one of several optional ingredients, so perhaps 羊血嶸峒丸 simply

means 'Li-dong pills with 羊血' -- Though 'Hainan kid's blood pills' comes better off the tongue & [is] prob. the best rendering for trans.

Hawkes writes down the meaning of 嶸峒 on NB100, though he does not indicate the source. It is clearly based on *Guoyu cidian*⁵⁶, which he refers to as *KYTT*, and is always his first port of call for Chinese expressions. The Dictionary explains 嶸峒 as the name of a mountain in Hainan inhabited by the people 黎人. The medicine is named after the place where the medicine is made.

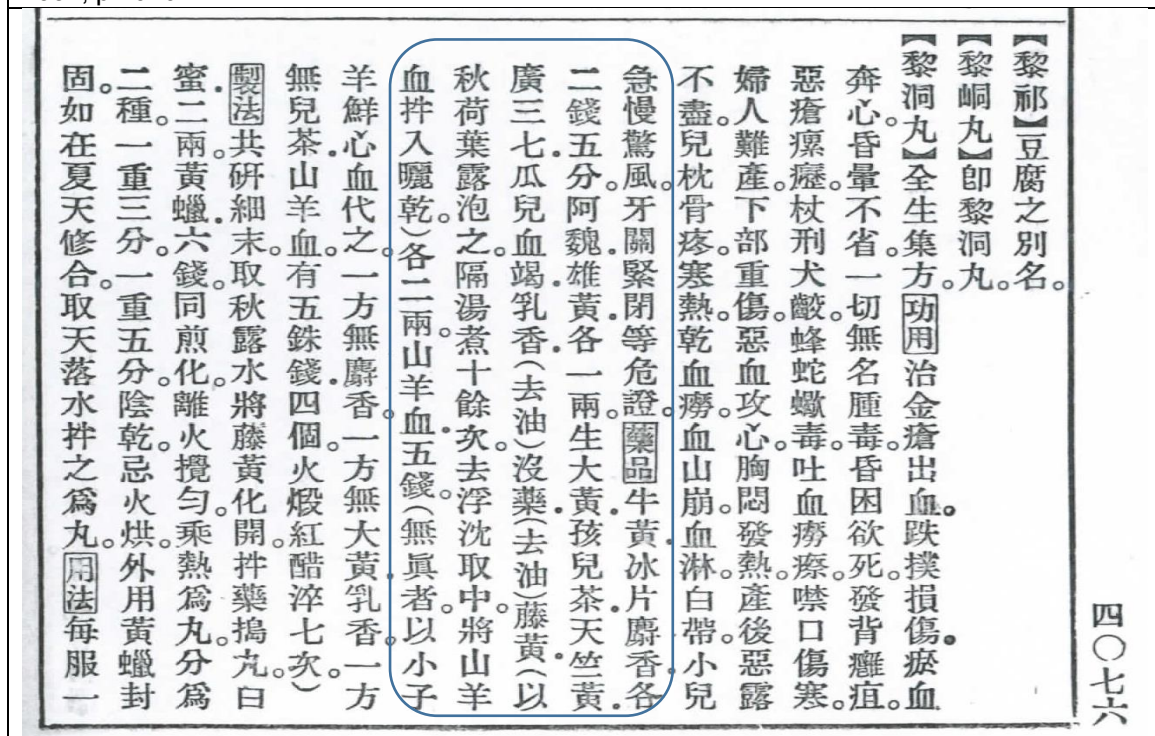
Fig. 2-103: *Guoyu cidian* 國語辭典. Taipei: Shangwu, 1966, p.1037.⁵⁶



Zhongguo yixue dacidian 中國醫學大辭典 (p. 4076) shows the details of the medicine, which

Hawkes copies on NB100:

Fig. 2-104: Xie Guan 謝觀, ed. *Zhongguo yixue dacidian* 中國醫學大辭典. Shanghai: Shangwu, 1957, p.4076.⁵⁷



After decoding the ingredients of the medicine 山羊血巉峒丸, Hawkes remarks that

“羊血 was one of several optional ingredients, so perhaps [山]羊血巉峒丸 simply means ‘Li-dong pills with 羊血’. “ (NB100)

For the translation of 山羊血, Hawkes prefers “kid’s blood” (baby goat’s blood rather than goat’s blood), remarking that

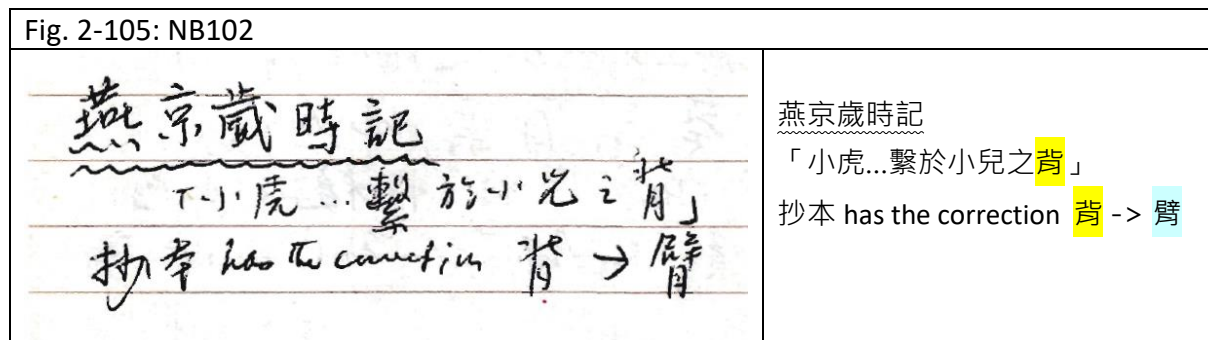
“ ‘Hainan kid’s blood pills’ comes better off the tongue” (NB100)

This is how Hawkes comes up with “Hainan kid’s-blood pills” for 山羊血巉峒丸. This example shows Hawkes aiming to provide a fluent and reader-friendly translation (one that “comes better off the tongue”). (R II, 31, 369) (P II, 31, 108)

2.1.19 Researching Local Customs in the Capital: Annual Customs and Festivals in Peking 燕京歲時記 (Thur 15 Mar 1973) (Fri 16 Mar 1973) (NB101) (NB102)

As seen on NB102, Hawkes consults the work 燕京歲時記⁵⁸ to verify the variant texts between the manuscripts and printed texts of *HLM*.

Fig. 2-105: NB102



In Chapter 31, The expression, 虎符繫臂, describes the Chinese custom during the Dragon Boat Festival on the fifth day of the fifth month of the lunar Chinese calendar,⁵⁹ to have silk threads strung (with gauze) in the shape of small tigers tied to the backs of children to keep bad luck away.

Hawkes finds that the expression 虎符繫臂 is sometimes given as 虎符繫背 as in the following:

「虎符繫臂」 (R II, 31, 369)

「虎符繫背」 (G II, 31,700)

「虎符繫背」 replaced with 「虎符繫臂」 (Q I, 31,357)

As shown by the above, the word “back” 背 is used in Gengchen. However, in Qianchao, the word, “back” 背 is crossed out and replaced with “arm” 臂, as seen on NB102.

As to whether 背 or 臂 is appropriate, Hawkes refers to a passage in 燕京歲時記 (*Annual Customs and Festivals in Peking*)⁵⁸, in which Chinese customs on the Dragon Boat Festival are recorded, with highlights as follows:

Shops sell charms during the Double Fifth Festival. People then paste them on their house gates to ward off evil influences.

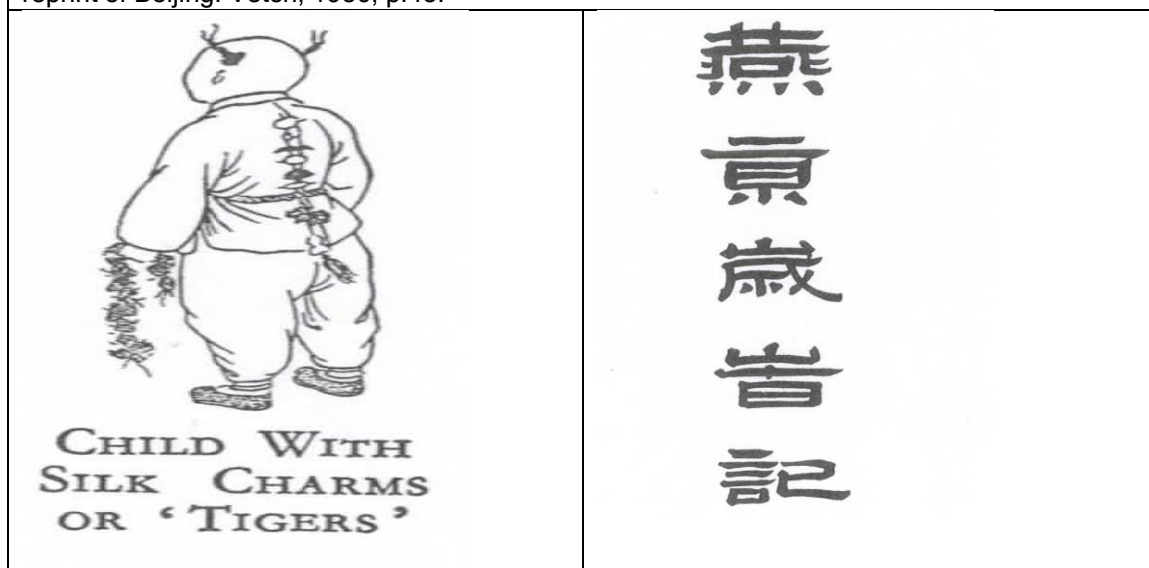
On the actual day, based on the ancient Chinese tradition, leaves of calamus and mugwort are hung on house-gates to keep bad luck away. This comes from the fact that mugwort leaves resemble a tiger and calamus leaves look like swords.

Also, women produce silk threads strung with gauze in the shape of small tigers and fruit and these are then worn suspended from their hairpins and tied on the backs of children.

These are worn to prevent catching infectious diseases as well as warding off demons.

Based on the above, Hawkes verifies that the silk charms are hung on the backs of children, which is illustrated (on p.45 of *Annual Customs and Festivals in Peking*) with a picture showing a child with silk charms. It is of interest that this work was itself written by a Manchu Bannerman.

Fig. 2-106: Dun Lichen 敦禮臣. *Yanjing Suishi ji* 燕京歲時記. English translation entitled *Annual Customs and Festivals in Peking*, translated and annotated by Derk Bodde. Hong Kong 1965 reprint of Beijing: Vetch, 1936, p.45. ⁵⁸



Hawkes renders the expression as follows:

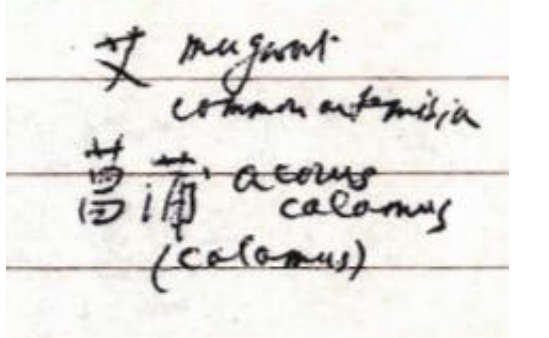
<i>HLM</i> (R II, 31,369)	<i>Stone</i> (II, 31, 109)
這日正是端陽佳節，	It was now the festival of the Double Fifth.
蒲艾簪門，	Sprays of calamus and artemisia crowned the doorways
虎符繫臂，	and everyone wore tiger amulets fastened on their clothing at the back.

Calamus and artemisia 蒲艾 (NB101)

蒲艾 are leaves of plants hung on the door gates of households during the Dragon Boat Festival to keep bad luck away.

Hawkes renders this as “Sprays of calamus and artemisia” based on his entry on NB101.

Fig. 2-107: NB101

	<p>艾 mugwort common artemisia</p> <p>菖蒲 acorus calamus (calamus)</p>
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Though Hawkes does not indicate the reference source in the *Notebooks*, it may well have been Bernard Emms Read's *Chinese medicinal plants from the Pen Ts'ao Kang Mu, A.D. 1596*⁶⁰ which he sometimes uses. This gives the English name for 蒲艾 as recorded by Hawkes on NB101:

Fig. 2-108: Read, Bernard Emms. *Chinese Medicinal Plants from the Pen Ts'ao Kang Mu. A.D. 1596: Botanical, Chemical and Pharmacological Reference List*. Peiping: Peking Natural History Bulletin, 1936, p.2.⁶⁰

<p>9. <i>A. vulgaris</i>, L. (M. IIC. G.) (<i>A. indica</i>, Willd.) IMP. (<i>A. paniculata</i>, Roxb.) IMP. COMMON MUG- WORT (<i>A. vulgaris</i>, L. var. <i>indica</i>, Max. (H.M. Ch. J.)</p>	<p>艾 Ai (別錄) 水 臺 醫 草 黃 草 艾 蒿 sd</p>	lf	<p>Ess. oil with "cineol." No santonin</p>	Com.	<p>St. 52: BN. 386: Br. 2 247; 3. 147: FH. 1. 446: WP. 1244: IMP. 700: DH. 680: CMJ. 1923. 37. 150: JPSJ. 1924. 510. 636: USD. 1224: NSD. 1076: H. 1923 20. 73: IDI. 37: IMM. 84: CRN 464: CMP. 3: HCM. 18: MI. 558: BIIL. 1913. 11. 436: Z. Phys. Ch. 1913. 88. 334: JNEM. 1927. 10. 116:</p>
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Fig. 2-109: Read, Bernard Emms. *Chinese Medicinal Plants from the Pen Ts'ao Kang Mu. A.D. 1596: Botanical, Chemical and Pharmacological Reference List*. Peiping: Peking Natural History Bulletin, 1936, p.228.⁶⁰

<p>703. <i>Acorus</i> <i>Calamus</i>, L. (M.J. Br. St.) (<i>A. cochinchinen-</i> <i>sis</i>, Schott.) (M.) (<i>Orontium c.</i>, Lour.) (<i>A. aromaticus</i>, Gilb.) SWEET FLAG or CALAMUS.</p>	<p>白 菖 Pai Ch'ang (別錄) 水 菖 醫 蒲 水 宿 莖 蒲 昌 陽 溪 蓀 蘭 蓀</p>	rt	<p>Ess. oil 3.5%. Acorin. Tannin. Calamen. Cholin.. Methyl alcohol. Asarylal- dehyd. Eugenol. Asaron.</p>	Hup. Ku.	<p>St. 12: FH. 3. 187: BN. 310: Br. 2. 190: 3. 348: JSSI. 1933. 1. 2. 24: HCM. 4: MI. 583: CMP. 329: IMP. 1349: CRN. 264: AMP. 8: SAMP. 81: USD. 1296: FHP. 613: BPC. 235: WP. 136; 1273: IDI. 9: JSCI. 1904. 949: Ber. Ph. 1902. 12. 257: Ber. 1873. 6. 1210: 1888. 21. 1912: 1901. 25. 1901: 1902. 25. 2187:</p>
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Tiger amulets 虎符 (NB101)

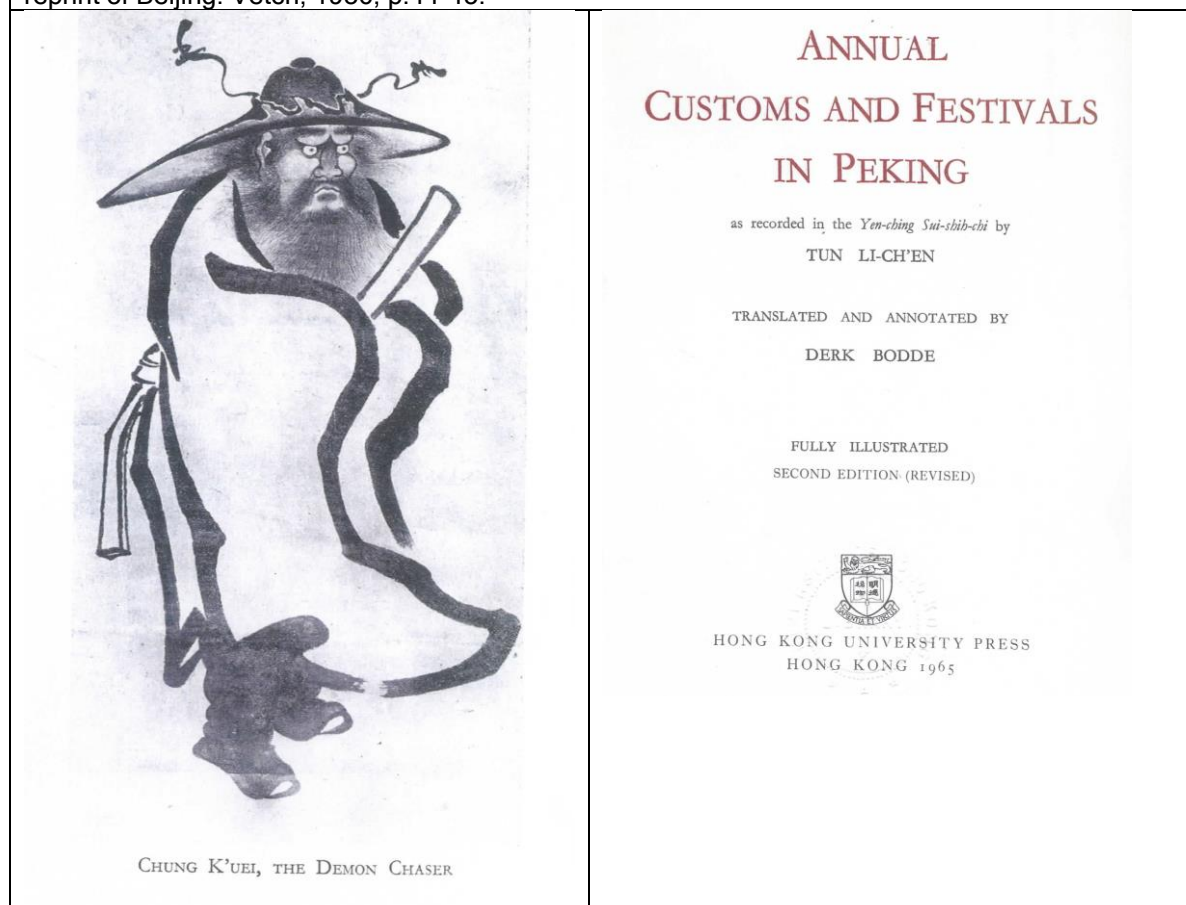
Hawkes remarks on NB101 that “虎符 [is] probably connected with *Tianshi* 天師”. (Fig. 2-111).

CC

Tianshi charms 天師符, are made either with yellow streamers about a foot long, on which are painted either the figure *Zhong Kui* 鍾馗, or the signs of five poisonous creatures. The charm is covered with vermilion seal impressions. During the Dragon Boat Festival, people buy the charm from shops and paste them on the house gate to ward off evil spirits.

This picture of *Zhong Kui* 鍾馗 is included in 燕京歲時記 (*Annual Customs and Festivals in Peking*)⁶¹ as follows:

Fig. 2-110: Dun Lichen 敦禮臣. *Yanjing Suishi ji* 燕京歲時記. English translation entitled *Annual Customs and Festivals in Peking*, translated and annotated by Derk Bodde. Hong Kong 1965 reprint of Beijing: Vetch, 1936, p.44-45.⁶¹

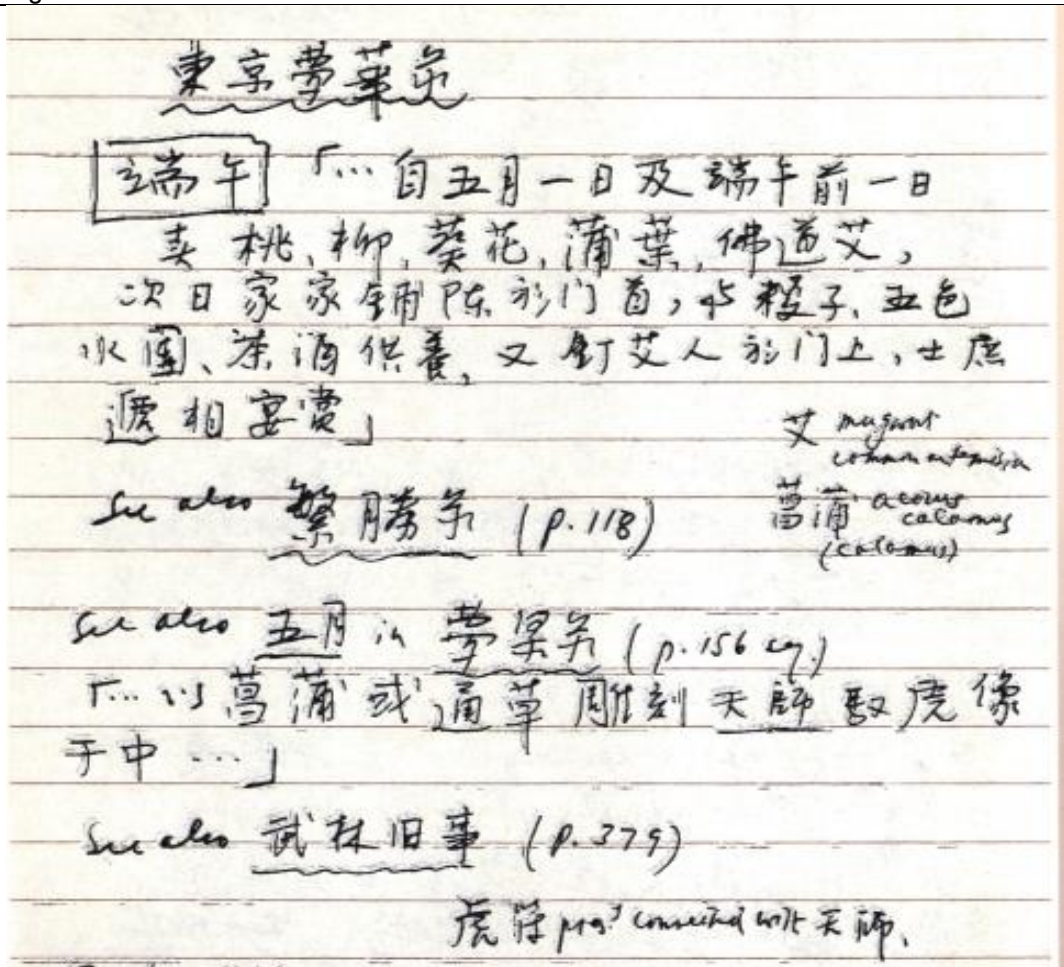


Tianshi 天師 is also called *Airen* 艾人 (literally, a person made with mugwort). This is because the head of *Tianshi* 天師 is made with 艾 (mugwort). The painting of *Airen* 艾人 is

hung at the entrance gate as decoration during the Dragon Boat Festival to ward off evil spirits.

Hawkes remarks that the connection of 虎符 with 天師 is supported by various reference sources he consults. These include *Dongjing menghua lu* 東京夢華錄⁶², *Fansheng lu* 繁勝錄⁶³, *Mengliang lu* 夢梁錄⁶⁴, and *Wulin jiushi* 武林舊事⁶⁵, all of which are authoritative sources on customs and festivals of the Song capitals, written between the years 1140 and 1280, providing vivid and detailed descriptions of life at that time.

The following is recorded by Hawkes on NB101:

Fig. 2-111: NB101		
		
Transcription from sources provided by Hawkes on NB101 with expansion in square brackets:		
<p>東京夢華錄</p> <p>端午「...自五月一日及端午前一 日賣桃、柳、葵花、蒲葉、佛道艾， 次日家家鋪陳於門首，與粽子、五色 水團、茶酒供養，又釘艾人於門上，士庶 遞相宴賞」</p> <p>See also 繁勝錄 (p. 118)</p> <p>See also 五月 in 夢梁錄 (p. 156 seq.)</p> <p>「...以菖蒲或通草雕刻天師馭虎像 于中...」</p> <p>See also 武林舊事 (p. 379)</p> <p>虎符 prob. connected with 天師.</p>	<p>See also 繁勝錄 (p. 118)</p> <p>Here is the relevant paragraph:</p> <p>[端午節 樸賣諸般百索。小兒荷 戴繫頭子，或用綵線結，或用珠 兒結，初一日，城內外家家供 養，都插菖蒲、石榴、蜀葵花、 橘子花之類]</p>	<p>See also 五月 in 夢梁錄 (p. 156 seq.)</p> <p>「...以菖蒲或通草雕刻天師馭虎 像于中...」</p> <p>See also 武林舊事 (p. 379)</p> <p>Here is the relevant paragraph:</p> <p>[插食盤架，設天師艾虎，意思 山子數十座，五色蒲絲百草 霜，以大合三層，飭以珠翠葵 榴艾花]</p>
虎符 prob. connected with 天師		

By means of the above, Hawkes identifies the connection of the Tianshi 天師 or Airen 艾人 with the tiger charms, etc. which are displayed during the Dragon Boat Festival.

**2.1.20 Finding the *mot juste* : Morose 懶懶的 (Fri 16 Mar 1973)
(NB101)**

On the festival of the Double-Fifth, Lady Wang invites Aunt Xue and the girls to a lunch party. Bao-yu realizes that Bao-chai's coldness towards him must be because he has been rude to her a day earlier.

The day before, Bao-yu asks Bao-chai why she wasn't watching the players. Bao-chai replies she has to leave because of the heat. Bao-yu replies that it must be because she is plump like Yang Gui-fei. (R I, 30, 361) (P II, 30, 97-8)

Bao-chai's face shows her anger although she cannot fully express her feelings publicly. Instead, she says although she might be like Yang Gui-fei 楊貴妃 in some ways, she doesn't think there is any chance of her own cousin becoming a Prime Minister like Yang Gui-fei's brother, Yang Guozhong 楊國忠.

Bao-yu realises he is in the wrong. He has again offended her by speaking without thinking, and is particularly discomforted because others have heard the conversation. He rather awkwardly starts to talk to someone else.

At the party, Dai-yu finds that Bao-yu is 懶懶的 and thinks this must be because of his feelings towards Bao-chai, Dai-yu becomes 懶懶的 herself. (R II, 31, 370) (P II, 31, 109)

The awkwardness spread to everyone else and soon people decide to leave.

Regarding the expression 懶懶的, Hawkes consults 北京話語匯⁶⁶ and notes the following on NB101:

Fig. 2-112: NB101

370 懶懶的 Not in KYTT.

北京話語匯 gives lǎn de (懶怠) 「不乐意做某一件事」

Perhaps it's this.

370 refers to the page number in Renmin. It is normal practice for Hawkes to give the chapter and page number for the expressions he notes in the *Notebooks*. In this case, unlike his usual practice, he has not given the chapter number.

Hawkes remarks that the expression is not in *KYTT*,⁶⁷ a work which seems to be his first port of call among dictionaries.

“lǎn de” is the hanyu pinyin romanised form of 懶怠 as shown in the dictionary, 北京話語匯 as follows:

Fig. 2-113: Jin Shoushen 金受申, *Beijinghua yuhui* 北京話語匯. Beijing: Shangwu, 1961, p.117.⁶⁶

lǎn

懶怠 (lǎn de) 不乐意做某一件事。例如：“这场戏，我懶怠去看了。”口語里的怠字，不念怠本字讀音 dài，通常說做 de 字輕聲。

Based on 北京話語匯, Hawkes deduces the meaning of 懶懶的 on the basis of 懶怠, and translates accordingly as “morose”. (R II, 31,370) (P II, 31,109)

2.1.21 Mathews again: A good constitution 氣脈充足 (Tue 20 Mar 1973) (NB103)

Xiang-yun replies that plants, like people, grow better if they are in good health, 氣脈充足.

(R II, 31, 378)

For the expression, 氣脈充足, Hawkes consults Mathews' *Chinese-English Dictionary* ⁶⁸ as follows:

Fig. 2-114: NB103

Math. 16 脈氣充足 (a good contribution).
 my source for this!

Math. has 脈氣充足 'a good constitution'.

Only source for this!

Fig. 2-115: Mathews, Robert Henry. *Chinese-English Dictionary*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1943, p.617.⁶⁸

脈脉血底 } 4.5.

The pulse. The veins or arteries. Also read *mai*⁴.

脈伏 a low pulse.

脈·息 the beating of the pulse.

脈·息微弱 a weak pulse.

脈氣充足 a good constitution.

脈理 the philosophy of the pulse.

脈絡相連 the veins and arteries are connected—joined, continuous.

脈門 the pulse at the wrist.

Based on Mathews', Hawkes translates as follows, commenting that it is the 'only source':

「花草也是和人一樣, 氣脈充足, 長的就好。」 (R II, 31, 378)

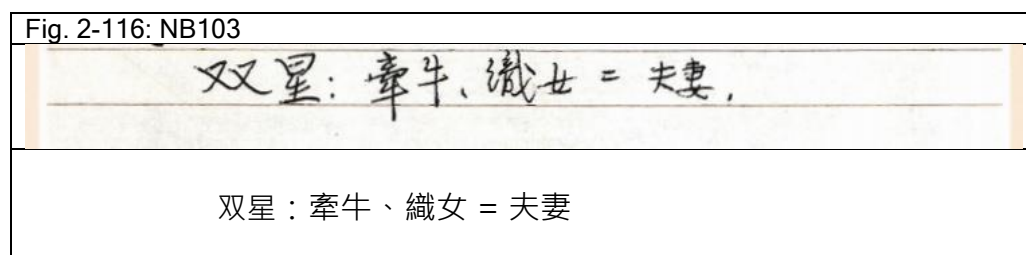
"Plants are the same as people, ... The healthier their constitution is, the better they grow."
(P II, 31, 122)

2.1.22 And again: Double stars 雙星 (Tue 20 Mar 1973) (NB103)

雙星 is part of the chapter heading for Chapter 31 因麒麟伏白首雙星. (R II, 31, 369)

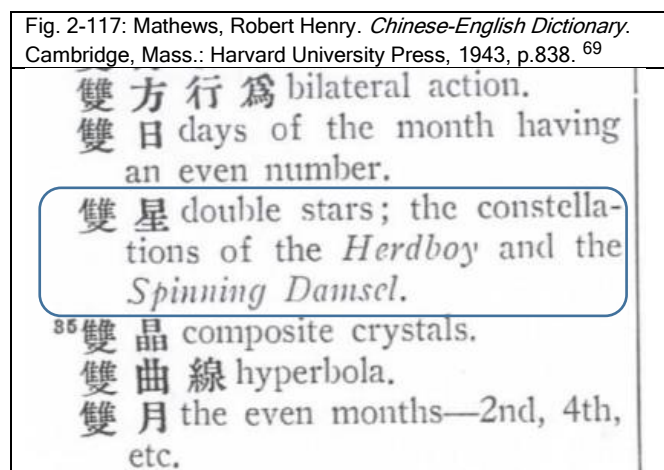
雙星 is a reference to the Chinese myth, in which the Herdboy and his wife, the Weaver, are separated all the year except one day, the Double Seventh Festival, which falls on the 7th day of the 7th lunar month.

Hawkes writes down the meaning of 雙星 on NB103:



Meaning: (雙星 is Herdboy and the Weaver = husband and wife)

Hawkes' note on 雙星 is probably based on Mathews⁶⁹:



The Chapter heading of 31 refers to the kylin which Xiang-yun discovers outside Bao-yu's place, Green Delights, and which makes a pair together with the kylin she is wearing.

Based on the meaning of 雙星, Hawkes translates the chapter heading 因麒麟伏白首雙星 freely as "And a lost kylin is the clue to a happy marriage" (R II, 31, 369) (P II, 31, 108)

As a matter of fact, the kylin which Xiang-yun discovers is meant to be a gift from Bao-yu for Xiang-yun, implying they are a pair. The story goes as follows:

In return for Grandmother Jia's generosity in giving the priests a look at Bao-yu's Magic Jade, Abbot Zhang presents Grandmother Jia with a tray of jewellery (Chapter 29).

When Bao-yu picks the items from the tray for Grandmother Jia's inspection, they find a little red-gold kylin. Hearing that it looks like the kylin that Xiang-yun wears, Bao-yu quickly takes it in his hand. When he is about to drop it into his pocket, he notices that Dai-yu is staring at him. Feeling embarrassed, Bao-yu says to Dai-yu that he would keep it for her. Dai-yu says she doesn't want it, and Bao-yu then says he will keep it for himself and puts it into his jacket.

On the way to the House of Green Delights, Kingfisher and Xiang-yun find a kylin which was probably dropped by Bao-yu when he was engrossed in watching Charmante drawing on the ground. When Xiang-yun inspects the kylin, she reflects that it could become a pair with the kylin she herself is wearing. However, she is engaged to another, not Bao-yu. She remains lost in her thoughts for a few seconds.

When Bao-yu suddenly arrives, Xiang-yun hides the kylin and enters the courtyard of Green Delights with him. Bao-yu tells Xiang-yun that he has been waiting for her arrival as he wants to give her something nice. As he says this, he is hunting unsuccessfully for the little kylin he has got from Abbot Zhang.

Hearing this, Xiang-yun realizes that the kylin that Bao-yu was searching for must be the one which she and Kingfisher found a few minutes earlier outside. Xiang-yun shows Bao-yu the kylin and Bao-yu is delighted to find it again.

2.1.23 A Common Device: Ferment of excitement 七情六慾將五內沸然
(Tue 11 Sept 1973) (NB 117) & (Thur 4 Oct 1973) (NB120)

In Chapter 34, Dai-yu is so sad to find that Bao-yu has been beaten by his father, that she weeps until her eyes become swollen like peaches. When she comes to visit Bao-yu, he sees that Dai-yu's face is wet with tears, and her swollen eyes meet his own.

Lying recovering in bed, Bao-yu misses Dai-yu a lot. He asks Skybright to send Dai-yu a pair of his old handkerchiefs 「送兩塊帕子來」 to express his feeling towards her.

(R II, 34, 409)

Dai-yu understands how much the handkerchiefs mean. She realizes that all along Bao-yu has understood how she feels. This throws her into an emotional turmoil.

- Happy: she is happy that, despite his own trouble, he has been able to realize the reason for her own unhappiness.
- Alarmed: she is alarmed that he is secretly sending her gifts.
- Ashamed: she is ashamed to think that she has been always weeping and arguing when he has understood all along.
- Sad: she is sad because she does not know whether her trouble would end the way she wants.

She continues in mental confusion “until the ferment of excitement within her cried out to be expressed” 「左思右想，一時五內沸然」 (R II, 34, 409) (P II, 34, 168)

Re Dai-yu's emotional state at that moment,

Renmin has 「左思右想，一時五內沸然」

Qianchao has 「左思右想一時七情六慾將五內沸然炙起」 (text in red crossed out)

(Q I, 34, 394)

五內沸然 describes the state of Dai-yu's excitement

五內 refers to viscera;

沸然 describes the state of boiling water;

七情六慾將 is in the original text of Qianchao, which provides a better picture of Dai-yu's agitated state.

七情: “the seven human emotions [joy, anger, sorrow, fear, desire, hate and love]” ⁷⁰

六慾: “human emotions and desires,” an expression in Buddhism ⁷⁰

Hawkes writes on NB117 (on 11 Sept 1973) re 七情六慾將 that these “5 ringed characters are found in no other text. “, as follows:

Fig. 2-118: NB117

乾 34/4b 「左思右想 一時七情六慾將五內沸然炙起」 5 ringed chars. found in no other text.

However, about 3 weeks later (on 4 Oct 1973), he did find the following example of this device, as explained on NB120:

Fig. 2-119: NB120

Re 七 -- 六 -- 五 (cf. 11 Sept. 1973) only example I can find at the moment of this common device is in 倩女離魂 三折: 十二月/堯民歌 which have 1 - 9 and 10 - 1. But of course, this is quite common.

As remarked by Hawkes, this is a common rhetorical device for writing a play. The song is composed so that numbers one to ten are embedded in the text first in ascending order, and then in descending order.

It goes like this: (the numbers represented by the Chinese characters highlighted are shown below the text)

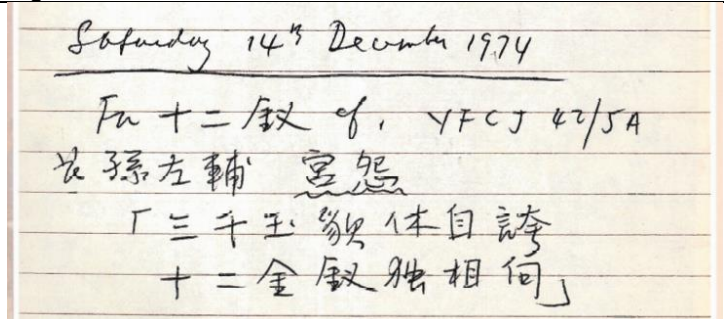
Fig. 2-120: Zheng Guangzu 鄭光祖. <i>Qiannü lihun</i> 倩女離魂. In <i>Zheng Guangzu ji</i> 鄭光祖集. Edited by Feng Junjie 馮俊傑. Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin, 1992, p.33. ⁷¹						
The song 十二月 goes in ascending order from 1-9						
原來是 一 枕南柯夢裏，和 二 三 子文翰相知。他訪 四 科、習 五 常典禮，通 六 藝、有 七 步才識，						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
憑 八 韻、賦縱橫大筆， 九 天上得遂風雷。						
8	9					
The song 堯民歌 goes in descending order from 10 to 1						
想 十 年身到鳳凰池，和 九 卿相 八 元輔勸金杯。則他那 七 言詩， 六 合里少人及，						
10	9	8	7	6		
端的個 五 福全 四 氣備占掄魁，震 三 月春雷。 雙 親行先報喜，都為這 一 紙登科記。						
5	4	3	2	1		

2.1.24 Tracing Origins: Twelve Beauties of Jinling 金陵十二釵 (Sat 14 Dec 1974) (NB160)

Besides *HLM*, 金陵十二釵 is one of the 5 titles which Cao Xueqin and his relatives considered using for the novel, as mentioned by Hawkes in his Introduction to Volume 1 of the *Stone*.

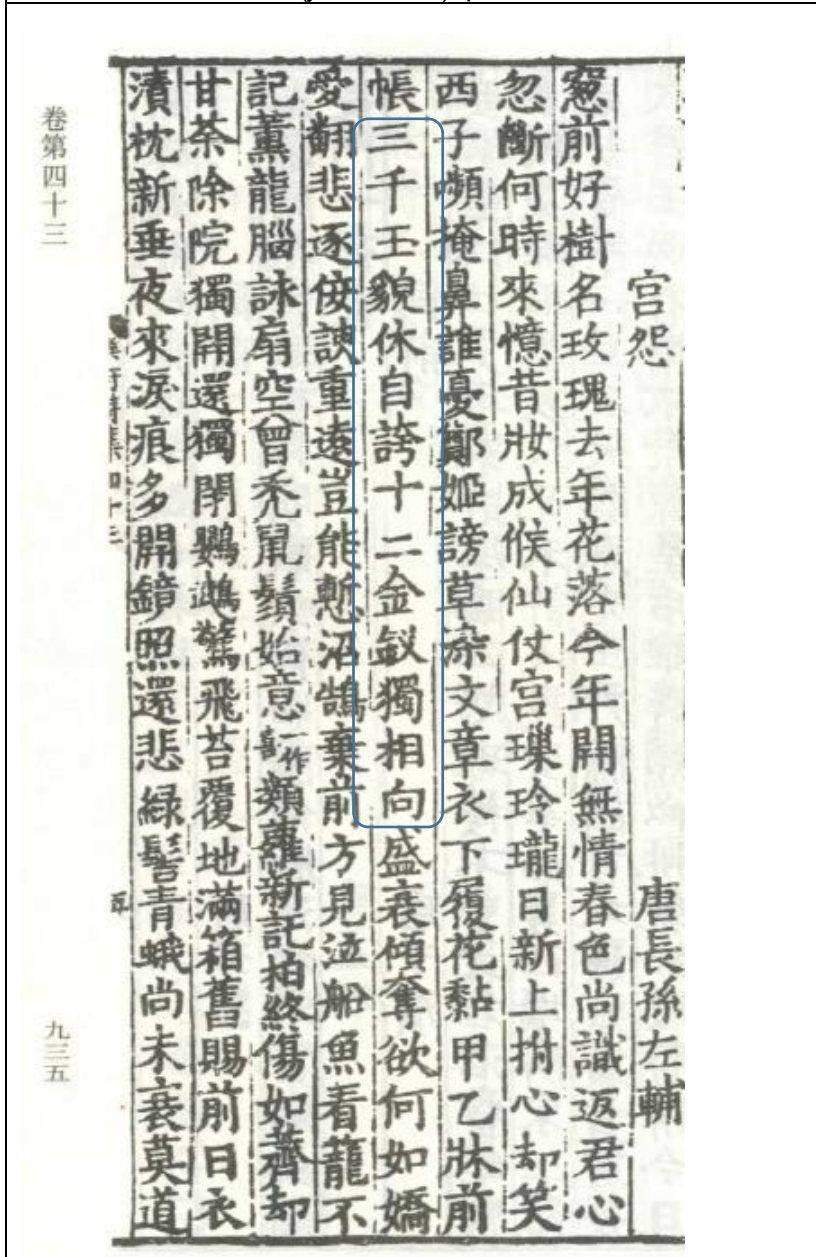
金陵 Jinling is the former name for Nanjing, the capital of many dynasties. 十二釵 or 十二金釵 refers to the twelve female characters in the Main Register which Bao-yu looks at in his dream in Chapter 5, in which the pictures and verses contain hints to the girls' eventual fate.

Hawkes notes the expression 十二金釵 is found in Zhangsun Zuofu 長孫左輔's poem, Gongyuan 宮怨, and writes on NB160:

Fig. 2-121: NB160	
	<p>For 十二釵 cf. YFCJ 42/5A</p> <p>長孫左輔 宮怨</p> <p>「三千玉貌休自誇 十二金釵獨相向」</p>

YFCJ should really be YFSJ as it seems to refer to *Yuefu Shiji* 樂府詩集,⁷² Volume 43/5A of which contains this poem 宮怨 by 長孫左輔, a Tang Dynasty poet. 宮怨 is one of the popular Tang poems selected for inclusion in *Quan Tangshi* 全唐詩.⁷³

Fig. 2-122: Guo Maoqian 郭茂倩. *Yuefu shiji* 樂府詩集. Beijing: Renmin wenxue, 2010, (juan 43, 5A), p.935. ⁷²



2.1.25 Exact Timing: In the evening / that night 晚上 and 晚間 (Fri 14 Feb 1975) (NB163-4)

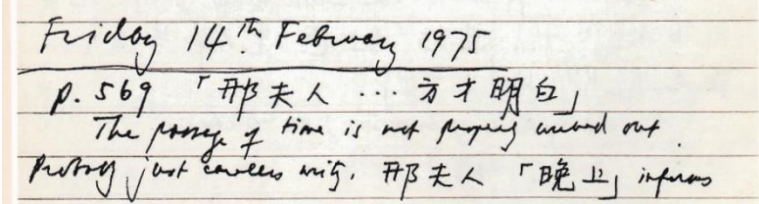
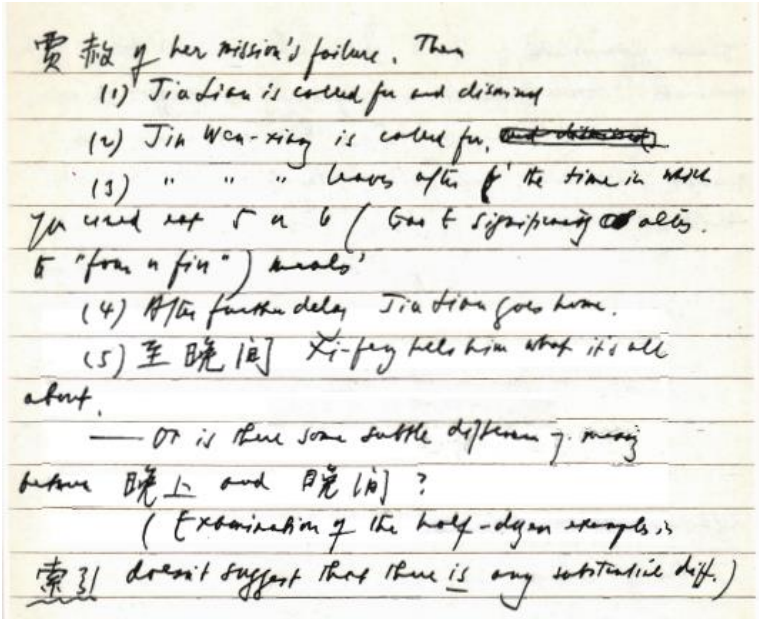
Hawkes queries the expression 晚上 in Chapter 46 on the grounds that “the passage of time is not properly worked out, probably just careless writing.” (NB163)

Jia She is attracted to Lady Jia’s maid Faithful and wants to ask for her as his concubine. He has given his wife (Lady Xing) the difficult task of asking Grandmother Jia if she would agree to give Jia She her beloved maid.

Lady Xing discusses with Xi-feng how to go about it, and she decides to approach Faithful first. However, Faithful strongly objects to the idea. Lady Xing then asks Faithful’s sister-in-law to come to persuade Faithful to accept the proposal, since Faithful’s parents live far away in Nanking. As expected, Faithful’s sister-in-law is unsuccessful.

Back home, Lady Xing informs Jia She in the evening 「晚上告訴了賈赦」 that her plan has failed. (R II, 46, 569)

What happens afterwards is summarized by Hawkes on NB163-4:

<p>Fig. 2-123: NB163-4</p> <p>NB163</p> 	<p>p. 569 「邢夫人 ... 方才明白」</p> <p>The passage of time is not properly worked out. Probably just careless writing. 邢夫人</p> <p>「晚上」 informs</p>
<p>NB164</p> 	<p>賈赦 of her mission's failure.</p> <p>Then,</p> <p>(1) Jia Lian is called for and dismissed;</p> <p>(2) Jin Wen-xiang is called for;</p> <p>(3) Jin Wen-xiang leaves after 'the time in which you could eat 5 or 6 (Gao E significantly alters to "four or five) meals'</p> <p>(4) After further delay, Jia Lian goes home.</p> <p>(5) 至晚間 Xi-feng tells him what it's all about.</p> <p>-- Or is there some subtle difference of meaning between 晚上 and 晚間?</p> <p>(Examination of the half-dozen examples in <u>索引</u> doesn't suggest that there <u>is</u> any substantial diff.)</p>

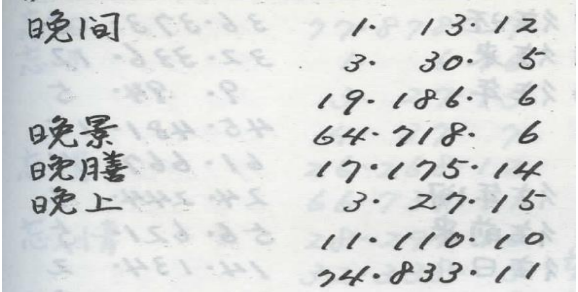
Items (1) to (5) which Hawkes lists above are what happens between 晚上 (after Lady Xing tells Jia She that her plan has failed), and 晚間 (before Xi-feng tells Jia Lian the details of what it's about). (R II, 46, 569)

Hawkes is puzzled that so much has happened in between 晚上 and 晚間, and questions whether there is any subtle difference between the two expressions 晚上 and 晚間。

Hawkes consults 索引, which is the abbreviated title Hawkes uses on NB164 for the Japanese index, 紅樓夢語彙索引.⁷⁴

On p. 391 of the book, 紅樓夢語彙索引, we find exactly half a dozen examples as mentioned by Hawkes. The 2 entries, 晚上 and 晚間, are listed as follows:

Fig. 2-124: Miyata Ichirō 宮田一郎, ed. *Kōrōmu goi sakuin*. 紅樓夢語彙索引. Nagoya-shi: Hanka Shorin, 1973, p.391. ⁷⁴

 <p>晚間 1. 13. 12 3. 30. 5 19. 186. 6 晚景 64. 718. 6 晚膳 17. 175. 14 晚上 3. 27. 15 11. 110. 10 74. 833. 11</p>	<p>晚間 1.13.12 3.30.5 19.186.6</p> <p>晚上 3.27.15 11.110.10 24.833.11</p>
---	---

Page number *	HLM	Stone
1.13.12	晚間正待歇息之時	That night, just as they were getting ready for bed
3.30.5	晚間你看見便知了	You will see what I mean this evening
19.186.6	晚間纔得回來	would not be bringing her back until late that evening
3.27.15	等晚上想着，叫人再去拿罷	send someone round in the evening to fetch them
11.110.10	因為晚上看着寶兄弟他們吃桃兒	Then yesterday evening she saw Bao-yu eating some peaches
74.833.11	等到晚上園門關了的時節	Tonight, when the Garden gates have been shut

* Page numbers based on *Honglouloumeng bashihui jiaoben* 紅樓夢八十回校本 (YPB) as listed in 紅樓夢語彙索引.

As Hawkes remarks on NB164, “examination of the half-dozen examples in 索引 doesn’t suggest that there is any substantial difference” between the two expressions, 晚上 and 晚間.

Thus, he renders them similarly as ‘in the evening’ and ‘that night’ respectively:

<i>HLM</i> (R II, 46, 569)	<i>Stone</i> (P II, 46, 421 & 422)
晚上告訴了賈赦	in the evening informed Jia She
至晚間·鳳姐兒告訴他	Xi-feng informs him that night

2.1.26 Consulting Experts again: Heat 肝火 (Fri 20 Jun 1975) (NB172)

In Chapter 51, Skybright catches cold one night when she plays tricks on Musk who opens the door and goes outside to have a look at the beautiful moon. Wearing just a short tunic, Skybright stealthily follows Musk in order to frighten her.

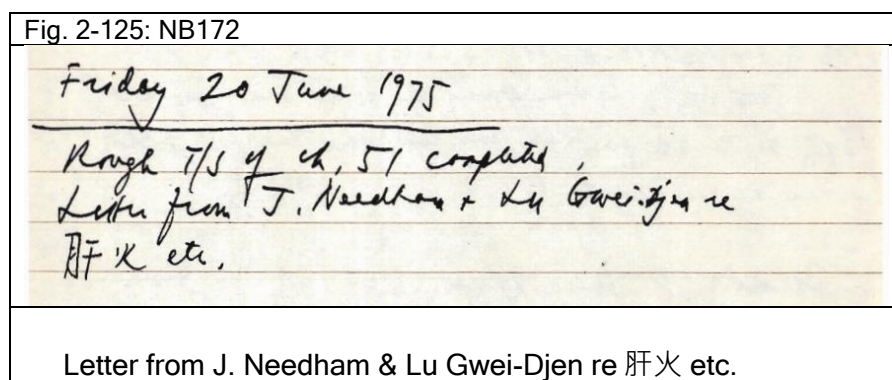
When she gets up the next morning, she has all the usual symptoms of a cold and finds it difficult to move.

Bao-yu sends for a doctor. He decides not to let his mother know, for fear that Lady Wang will make her return home to recover.

Then, Li Wan (Mrs. Zhu, Bao-yu’s sister-in-law), is informed instead. Li Wan recommends sending the maid home if the symptoms persist because it’s a bad time of year for infection, and there is a danger that one of the young ladies in the family might fall ill. Skybright is angered by Li Wan’s worries.

Bao-yu mollifies her, telling her that running a temperature is making her even more irritable than usual. 「你素昔又愛生氣·如今肝火自然又盛了。」 (R II, 51, 637)

Hawkes writes the following on NB172 re 肝火:



Hawkes seems to have relied on Joseph Needham ⁷⁵ Lu Gwei-Djen 魯桂珍 ⁷⁶ for his rendering of this expression, as shown on NB172. The line is translated as follows:

「你素昔又愛生氣，如今肝火自然又盛了。」 (R II, 51, 637)

“Now, with so much extra heat inside you, you are even more inflammable!”

(P II, 51, 525)

2.1.27 Terror and Scourge: Scourges of the Mountains 鎮山太歲 (Tue 1 Jun 1976) (NB192)

In Chapter 55, following Xi-feng's miscarriage, she is aware of her ill health and the pressing need to rest while she recovers. Bao-chai, Li Wan and Tan-chun are given the task of running the household. At night, these three young guardians try as much as possible to spare time to patrol the Garden. They come up with a method of supervision even more thorough than Xi-feng's.

The servants grumble about this as follows:

「剛剛的倒了一個『巡海夜叉』，

又添了三個『鎮山太歲』，」

(R II, 55, 692)

Meaning:

As soon as the sea demon 「巡海夜叉」 has gone, another three guardians 「鎮山太歲」 appear.

「巡海夜叉」 means the sea demons which patrol the sea in Buddhism, 「夜叉」 is the phonetic translation of Yaksha in Sanskrit 梵文, here referring to Xi-feng;

「鎮山太歲」 means those fierce gods in Chinese legend who take responsibility as guards, referring to the three young guardians who have taken Xi-feng's place in household management.

In order to render these two expressions, Hawkes invents names parallel to the Chinese terms:

「巡海夜叉」= “The Terror of the Seas”

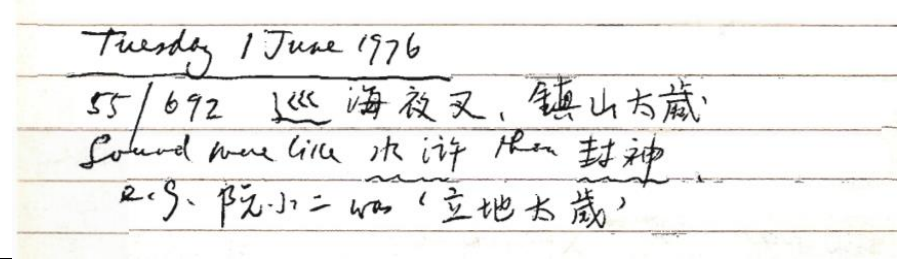
「鎮山太歲」= “Scourges of the Mountains”

(R II, 55, 692) (P III, 55, 48)

Both Terror and Scourges imply persons who are demonic, destructive, sweeping through an area and causing a lot of trouble. “Attila the Hun” (circa 406 - 453) in history was known as the Scourge of God, and the Romans were very much afraid of him. Attila was leader of a tribe whose devastating invasion was partly responsible for the collapse of the Roman Empire. Hawkes came up with these two names (i.e. Terror and Scourges) with similar connotations in English corresponding to the Chinese terms, to illustrate how threatening Xi-feng and these three guardians are in the eyes of the domestics/servants.

HLM(R II, 55, 692)	Stone (P III, 55, 48)
剛剛的倒了一個「巡海夜叉」， 又添了三個「鎮山太歲」，	No sooner is the Terror of the Seas put out of action than along come these three Scourges of the Mountains to take her place.

Hawkes remarks on NB192 as follows:

Fig. 2-126: NB192

55/692 巡海夜叉·鎮山太歲 sound more like <u>水滸</u> than <u>封神</u> , e.g. 阮小二 was ‘立地太歲’,

Hawkes associates the expression with 水滸⁷⁷ rather than 封神⁷⁸ because 阮小二 Ruan Xiao'er, literally, “Ruan the Second”, a fictional character in 水滸 *Water Margin*, is known as ‘立地太歲’. He is one of the 108 heroes who come together at Mount Liang (Liangshan) to combat injustice. Each of the 108 Liangshan heroes is identified with one of the 108 Stars of Destiny in Chinese folklore. The 108 Stars are supposed to represent banished demons who

are accidentally released and incarnated as the heroes of Liangshan . 阮小二 ranks the 27th among the Stars represented by the Liangshan heroes and is nicknamed ‘立地太歲’.

2.1.28 Eggs: Traditional birth present 送粥米 (Tue 17 May 1977) (NB209)

In Chapter 61, Lotus, Ying-chun’s little maid, comes to tell Cook Liu that Chess requests her to prepare a bowl of egg custard.

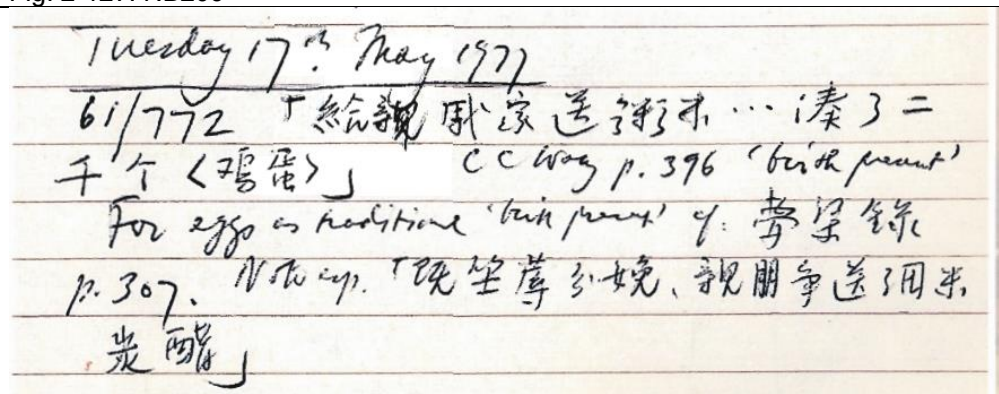
Cook Liu tells her eggs are in very short supply this year. She recalls the difficulty of getting together two thousands eggs in preparation for a present for Jia family relations who had just had a baby. 「給親戚家送粥米」. (R III, 61, 772)

Hawkes makes reference to C C Wang’s translation (王際真 Wang Jizhen) ⁷⁹ re the expression 「送粥米」, which means ‘birth present’.

Also, Hawkes quotes the tradition of 「送粥米」 as a traditional birth present from 夢梁錄 ⁸⁰ 「既坐蓐分娩・親朋爭送細米炭醋」.

Details of NB209:

Fig. 2-127: NB209



61/772 「給親戚家送粥米...湊了二千个〈鸡蛋〉」

CC Wang p.396 'birth present'

For eggs as traditional 'birth present' cf. 夢梁錄 p.307

Note esp. 「既坐蓐分娩・親朋爭送細米炭醋」

Though the Chinese text does not have the noun 雞蛋 following the quantifier 「二千個」, Hawkes infers that it refers to 2,000 eggs, as noted on NB209:

「給親戚家送粥米...湊了二千個〈雞蛋〉」

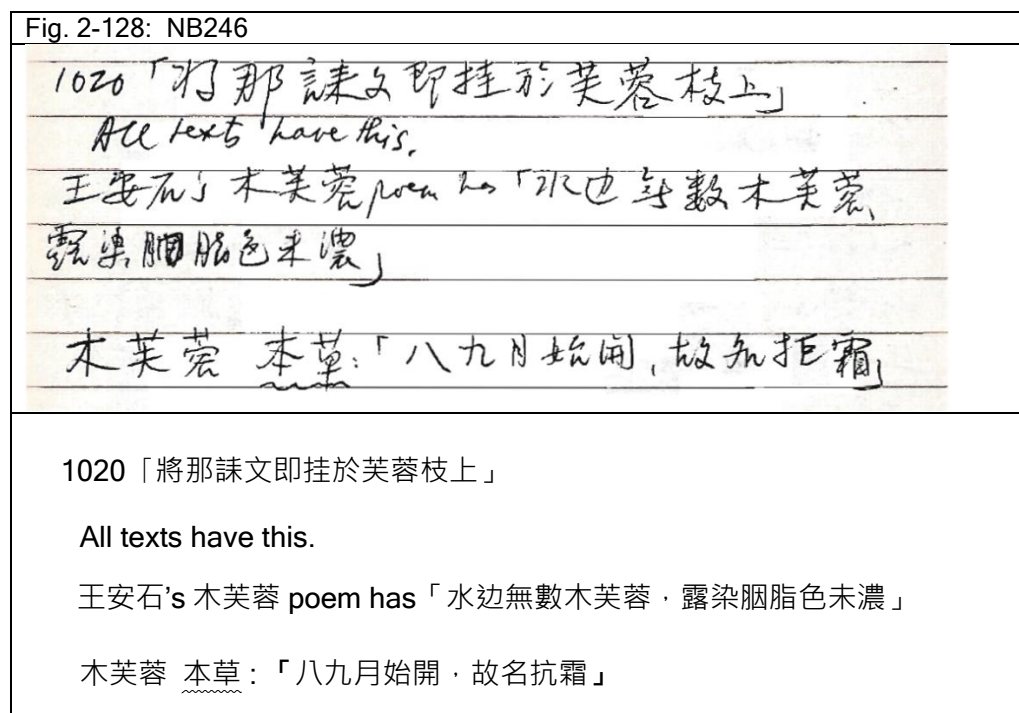
In the eventual translation, Hawkes includes an incorporated footnote explaining that 「送粥米」 means giving a present on the birth of a child, and explains that eggs are involved.

<i>HLM</i> (R III, 61, 772)	<i>Stone</i> (P III, 61, 169)
給親戚家送粥米去， 四五個買辦出去， 好容易才湊了二千個來，	When they were making up a present for one of Her Ladyship's relations that had just had a baby, there were four or five of our buyers out scouring the markets for eggs. They had no end of a job getting together two thousand.

2.1.29 Botany again: Hibiscus 芙蓉 (Wed 24 Jan 1979) (NB246)

In Chapter 78, Bao-yu composes an elegy in mourning for Skybright's death, which he writes on a piece of silk and hangs on the branches of a 芙蓉 plant, 「將那誄文即掛於芙蓉枝上」 as he has been told by a maid that Skybright has been transformed into a shrub of that type. Bao-yu kneels down and bows solemnly, and then reads the elegy dewy-eyed. (R III, 78, 1020)

Regarding 「將那諫文即掛於芙蓉枝上」, Hawkes notes on NB246:



Hawkes writes that “All texts have this”, referring to the same expression occurring in other texts such as Gengchen and Qianchao. (G IV, 78, 1903) (Q II, 78, 898)

Hawkes also refers to a poem 木芙蓉 by the Song poet, 王安石⁸¹, with the plant as the title of the poem (as an allusion to a beautiful lady). He writes out the following two lines of the seven-character quatrain 「水邊無數木芙蓉, 露染胭脂色未濃」。

Regarding the properties of this plant, 木芙蓉, Hawkes refers to *Bencao Gangmu* 本草綱目⁸² and writes as follows:

木芙蓉 本草: 「八九月始開, 故名抗霜」

(it begins to bloom in the eighth and ninth months, so it is called jushuang, resistant to frost).

Hawkes finds the English and botanical name of the plant in Read's *Chinese Medicinal Plants*⁸², which gives “*Hibiscus mutabilis* L.”. He renders it accordingly as “hibiscus”.

「將那諫文即掛於芙蓉枝上」

(R III, 78, 1020)

“he hung the silk up on the branches of a hibiscus”

(P III, 78, 575)

2.1.30 Chinese Drugs: A doctor's prescription 藥方 (undated) (NB324)

Chapter 10 includes a doctor's prescription for the treatment of Qin-shi's illness. This was for a medicine to help her breathing, heart, spleen, and liver functions. On NB324, Hawkes lists the Chinese drugs included in the prescription:

Fig. 2-129: NB324

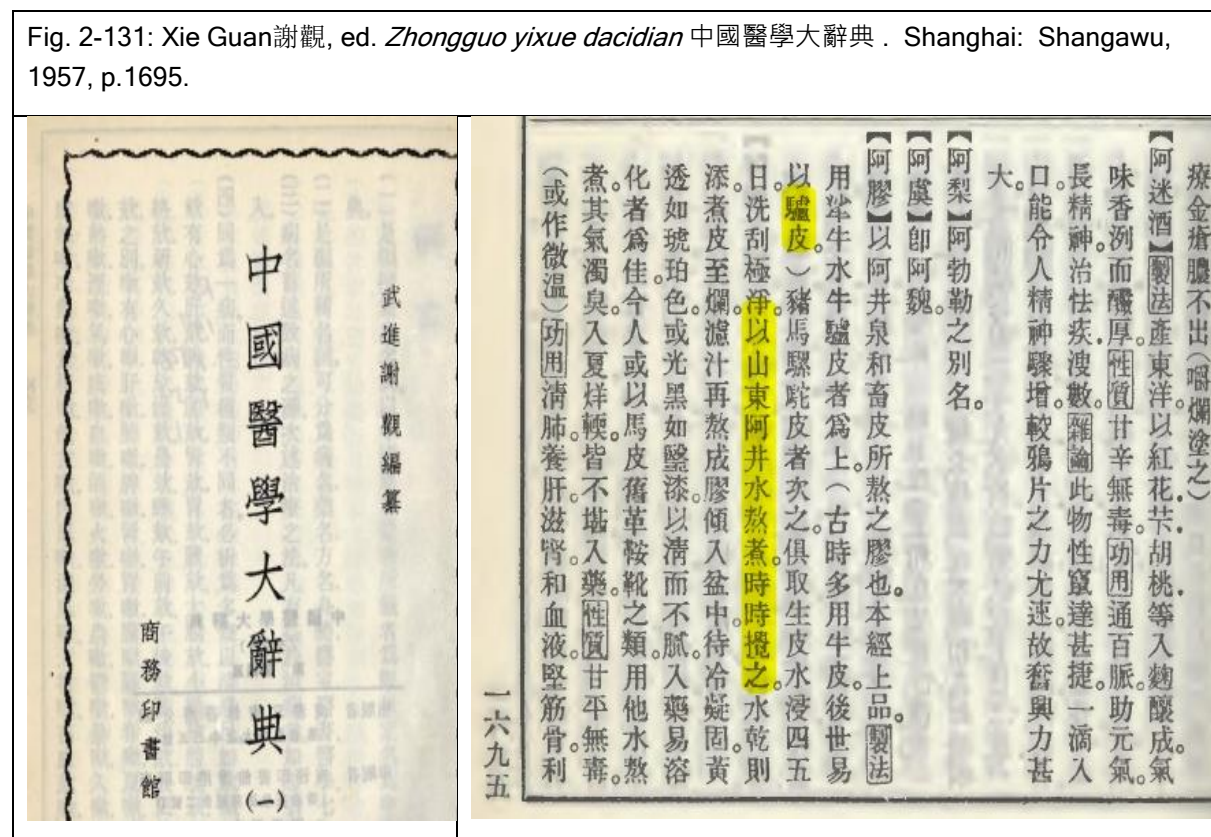
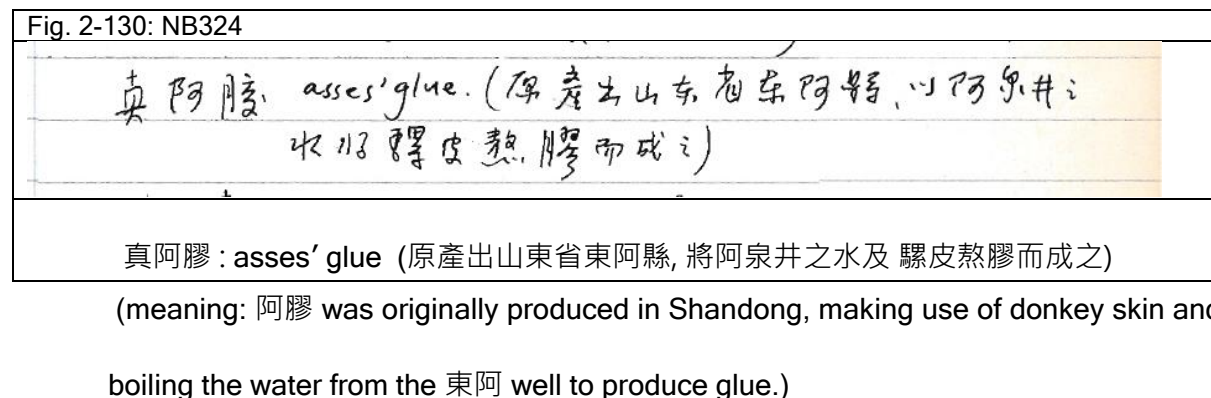
二钱: 2 drams	人參	<i>Panax ginseng</i> (ginseng)
二钱: 2 drams	白朮	<i>Atractylis ovata</i>
三钱: 3 drams	雲苓 = 茯苓	<i>Pachyma Cocos</i> (angl. <i>Lycopodon</i>) (Indian Bread)
四钱: 4 drams	熟地 (熟地黃)	地黃 = 沙參 <i>Adenophora verticillata</i> (processed by being soaked, powdered and dried. (Blue ball))
二钱: 2 drams	歸身 (當歸)	<i>Aralia edulis</i> (處方用名:「白歸身」)
= 2 drams	白芍 = 白芍藥	<i>Paeonia albiflora</i> (white peony root)
一钱五分: 1½ drams	川芎	<i>conioselinum univittatum</i> (hemlock parsley)
三钱: 3 drams	黃芪	<i>Astragalus hoangtchy</i> (root) (Yellow vetch)
二钱: 2 drams	香附米 (root of)	<i>Cyperus rotundus</i> (米, pre? ground) nutgrass
八分: ¾ dram	西柴胡	<i>Bupleurum falcatum</i> (?西) (sickle-leaved hare's ear)
二钱: 2 drams	懷山藥	山藥: 薯蕷之别名 <i>Dioscorea japonica</i> . (薯蕷生懷慶山中者白細堅實, 入藥用之) (Chinese yam)
二钱: 2 drams	真阿膠	asses' glue. (原產出山東省東阿縣, 以阿泉井水以膠皮熬膠而成之)
一钱 1½ drams	延胡索	<i>Corydalis bulbosa</i> (Mandrags C. umbigina)
八分: ¾ drams	炙甘草	<i>Glycyrrhiza glabra</i> (炙*: 即甘草焙炒成性: 處方用名) (Licorice)

As shown on NB324, Hawkes gives an exhaustive list of the Chinese drugs involved, with the Chinese name as well as the botanical name for each one. Hawkes relies mostly on Bernard Emms Read's *Chinese medicinal plants from the Pen Ts'ao Kang Mu. A.D. 1596: Botanical, Chemical and Pharmacological Reference List*⁸³. The table below, based on the published translation, shows the information from Read (highlighted in yellow), with Hawkes' own addition.

<i>HLM</i> (R I, 10, 124)	<i>Stone</i> (P I, 10,227)
人蔘	Ginseng
白朮	Atractylis (clay-baked)
雲苓 = 伏苓	Lycoperdon
X 熟地 (熟地黃) 地黃 = 沙參 X	Nipplewort (processed)
歸身 (當歸)	Angelica
白芍 = 白芍藥	White peony root
川芎	Hemlock parsley
黃芪	Yellow vetch root
香附米	Ground root of nutgrass
醋柴胡	Hare's ear (in vinegar)
懷山藥	Huaiqing yam
真阿膠	Dong E ass's glue (prepn with powdered oyster-shell)
延胡索	Corydalis (cooked in wine)
炙甘草	Roast liquorice

The crosses Hawkes inserts at the beginning and end of the line on the drug 「熟地 (熟地黃) 地黃 = 沙參」, (which he renders as “Nipplewort (processed)”), probably indicate that the term is not found in Read's book.

Also, on NB324, Hawkes gives a brief description in Chinese of how 阿膠 is made, with reference to 中國醫學大辭典⁸⁴ :



Based on this description, Hawkes renders 阿膠 as “Dong E ass’s glue (prepn with powdered oyster-shell)”, with “asses’ ” on NB324 modified to its singular form “ass’s” in the published translation. (P I, 10, 227)

Dong E is the Wade-Giles romanisation for 東阿, the place where the medicine is produced.

2.1.31 Aroma: The flowers' aroma breathes of hotter days 花氣襲人知 晝暖 (undated) (NB 329) (NB300)

In Chapter 28, Bao-yu is playing a drinking game with Xue Pan, Feng Zi-ying, Jiang Yu-han (an actor) and Nuageuse (a female entertainer). In the game, each of the players has to give a quotation from the classics, an old couplet, or a famous poem, with reference to an object they find in front of them. Jiang Yu-han takes up a bunch of cassia and quotes the following line “The flowers’ aroma breathes of hotter days.” 「花氣襲人知晝暖。」

(R I, 28, 336) (P II, 28, 60)

Xue Pan protests that Jiang has to pay the forfeit, claiming that the phrase 襲人 is an allusion to an absent doll (meaning a girl!) rather than a flower. 襲人 is the name of Bao-yu’s maid, to whom Xue Pan refers. Bao-yu is embarrassed by Xue Pan’s reference to her.

Regarding 襲人, Hawkes notes on NB329 as follows:

Fig. 2-132: NB329	
336	「花氣襲人知晝暖」 陸游 村居書喜 (Ikkai 120)
336	「花氣襲人知晝暖」 陸游 村[杜]居書喜 (Ikkai 120)

Hawkes writes that 「花氣襲人知晝暖」 is a well-known line from the poem 村居書喜 of the celebrated Song poet, Lu You 陸游 (1125-1210). And his source for this is 陸游 村居書喜 (Ikkai 120).

The reference is to Ikkai Tomoyoshi 一海知義, whose book 中國詩人選集⁸⁵ quotes the poem on p.120.

Fig. 2-133: Yoshikawa Kojiro 吉川幸次郎 and 小川環樹 Ogawa Tamaki, eds. *Riku Yu* 陸游. Annotated by Ikkai Tomoyoshi 一海知義注. (*Zhongguo shiren xuanji* 中國詩人選集) Tokyo: Iwanami, 1962, p. 120. ⁸⁵

<p>紅橋梅市曉山橫 白塔樊江春水生 花氣襲人知驟暖 鵲聲穿樹喜新晴 坊場酒賤貧猶醉 原野泥深老亦耕 最喜先期官賦足 經年無吏叩柴荆</p> <p>村居書喜</p> <p>紅橋の梅市 曉山横たわり 白塔の樊江 春水生ず 花氣 人を襲いて 驟かに暖かなるを知り 鵲声 樹を穿ちて 新たに晴るるを喜ぶ 坊場 酒賤くして 貧も猶お酔い 原野 泥深くして 老も亦た耕す 最も喜ぶ 期に先んじて官賦足り 経年 吏の柴荆を叩く無きを</p>	<p>陸 游</p> <p>一海知義注</p> <p>編集・校閲 吉川幸次郎 小川環樹</p> <p>中國詩人選集二集 8</p>
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Also, on NB300, Hawkes writes out the poem 村居書喜 from Lu You 陸游, giving the year and the poet's age (ae. '78) when the poem was written. ("ae." is Hawkes' abbreviation for "aetate", Latin for "age".) Hawkes also gives a draft of the translation of the relevant line ("The flowers' aroma breathes of hotter days.") and the following one ("Trees could with song rejoice in clearer skies.") to provide context:

Fig. 2-134: NB300

<p>1202 ae. 78</p>	<p>陸游 村居書喜 (IKKai p. 120)</p> <p>紅橋梅市曉山橫 白塔樊江春水生 花氣襲人知驟暖 鵲聲穿樹喜新晴 坊場酒賤貧猶醉 原野泥深老亦耕 最喜先期官賦足 經年無吏叩柴荆</p> <p>The flower's aroma breathes of hotter days. Trees loud with song rejoice in clearer skies.</p>
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陸遊

村居書喜 (Ikkai p.120)

1202 紅橋梅市曉山橫

ae.'78 白塔樊江春水生

花氣襲人知驟暖 The flowers' aroma breathes of hotter days

鵲聲穿樹喜新晴 Trees could with song rejoice in clearer skies.

坊場酒賤貧猶醉

原野泥深老亦耕

最喜先期官賦足

經年無吏叩柴荆

2.1.32 Recreating a Game: Drinking Game 酒令 (undated) (NB364)

In Chapter 62, Bao-yu and the girls are playing a drinking game, in which they agree that the losers have to give a famous quotation in prose 古文, a familiar quotation in verse 舊詩, a dominoes three-some 骨牌名, a song-title 曲牌名, and the day's forecast from an almanac 時憲書, all five to make sense when they are put together. (R III, 62, 790)

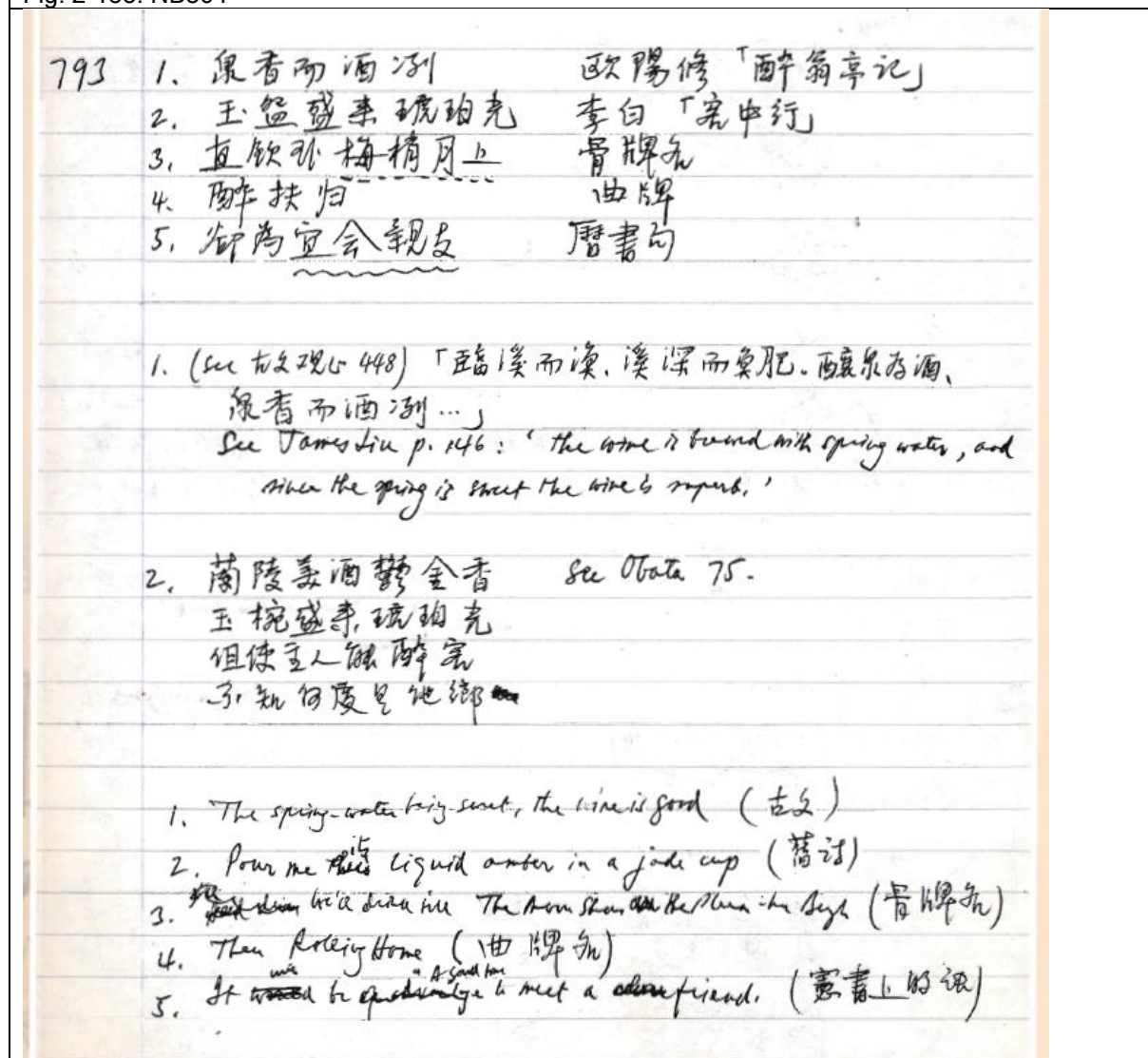
After the game, Xiang-yun was found half-drunk, lying on the grass, reciting the following quotations as if she was in the drinking game: (R III, 62, 793)

1. 泉香而酒冽
2. 玉盃盛來琥珀光
3. 直飲到梅梢月上
4. 醉扶歸
5. 卻為宜會親友

Hawkes notices the variant text for the above texts. The manuscripts (Qianlong, Gengchen) provide the complete version of the above 5 lines, whereas Renmin has the 2nd and 3rd quotations missing. Obviously, Hawkes prefers the manuscripts, which provides the full details of Xiang-yun's quotations. (Q II, 62, 723) (G IV, 62, 1446)

As shown on NB364, Hawkes records how he goes about translating the expressions as follows:

Fig. 2-135: NB364



Hawkes writes beside each quotation his findings, which I have paraphrased in brackets:

1. 泉香而酒冽: 歐陽修「醉翁亭記」(originates from "The Pavilion of the Old Drunkard" 醉翁亭記 by Ou-yang Xiu 歐陽修)
2. 玉盃盛來琥珀光: 李白「客中行」(originates from 客中行 "While Journeying" by Li Bai 李白)
3. 直飲到梅梢月上: 骨牌名 (title of a set of threesome dominoes 骨牌)
4. 醉扶歸: 曲牌 (an aria pattern in a play 曲牌名)
5. 卻為宜會親友: 曆書句 (a quotation derived from an almanac 曆書句)

The first quotation: 「泉香而酒冽」

Hawkes writes on NB364 re the first quotation, 「泉香而酒冽」:

“ See 古文觀止 448 臨溪而漁, 溪深而魚肥, 釀泉為酒, 泉香而酒冽

See James Liu p.146 ‘the wine is brewed with spring water, and since the spring is sweet, the wine is superb’. “ (NB364)

As shown by the above, Hawkes first consults 古文觀止⁸⁶ to identify the source of the expression 泉香而酒冽, which is 醉翁亭記 by 歐陽修;⁸⁷

Then, he consults the English version of this famous piece of prose from James T.C. Liu’s “Ou-yang Hsiu: an eleventh century Neo-Confucianist”.⁸⁸

Hawkes’ sources in Chinese and English are juxtaposed in the following:

Wu Chucai 吳楚材 and Wu Tiaohou 吳調侯, comp. <i>Guwen guan zhi yizhu</i> 古文觀止譯注. Edited by Yin fa-lu 陰法魯. Beijing: Beijing daxue, 2001, pp.691-2. ⁸⁶	Liu, James T.C. <i>Ou-yang Hsiu: An Eleventh -century Neo-Confucianist</i> . Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1967, p.146. ⁸⁸
臨溪而漁 . 溪深而魚肥 . 釀泉為酒 . 泉香而酒冽 .	The fish are freshly caught from the stream, and since the stream is deep the fish are fat; the wine is brewed with spring water, and since the spring is sweet the wine is superb.

As shown in the above, James Liu translates 「泉香而酒冽」 as “since the spring is sweet the wine is superb”.⁸⁸

Based on the above, Hawkes comes up with the following translation with slight modification, as shown on NB364:

“The spring water being sweet, the wine is good.” (P III, 62, 204)

The second quotation: 「玉盃盛來琥珀光」

As in the first quotation, Hawkes consults both the original Chinese version and the English translation for the expression, which is a well-known quotation in verse, originating in “While Journeying” 客中行 by Li Bai 李白.⁸⁹

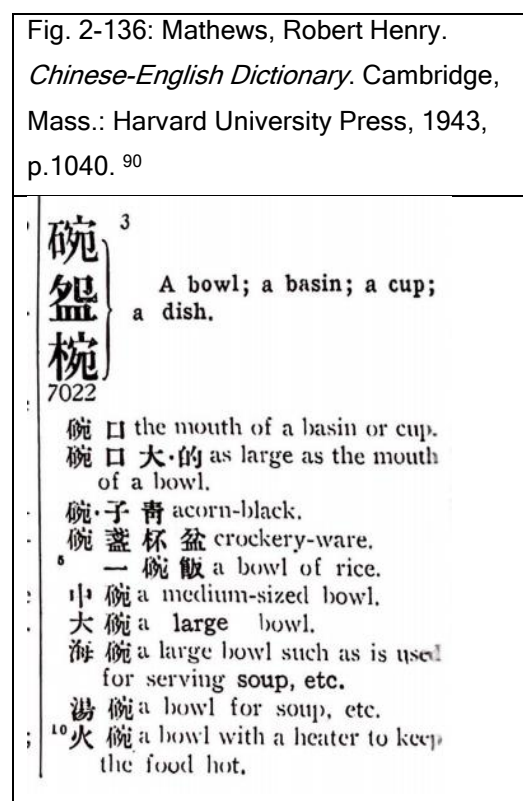
Hawkes writes on NB364 the complete version of the poem as follows:

「蘭陵美酒鬱金香，玉碗盛來琥珀光。

但使主人能醉客，不知何處是他鄉。」

For the second word of the second line, 玉盃盛來琥珀光 as shown on top of NB364, it is 碗 in Li Bai’s poem, as well as in Obata’s book from which Hawkes consults his English translation.

As shown in Mathews’ *Chinese-English Dictionary*⁹⁰, 盃 and 碗 are variant forms of 碗, meaning “a bowl; a basin; a cup; a dish”, as shown in the following:

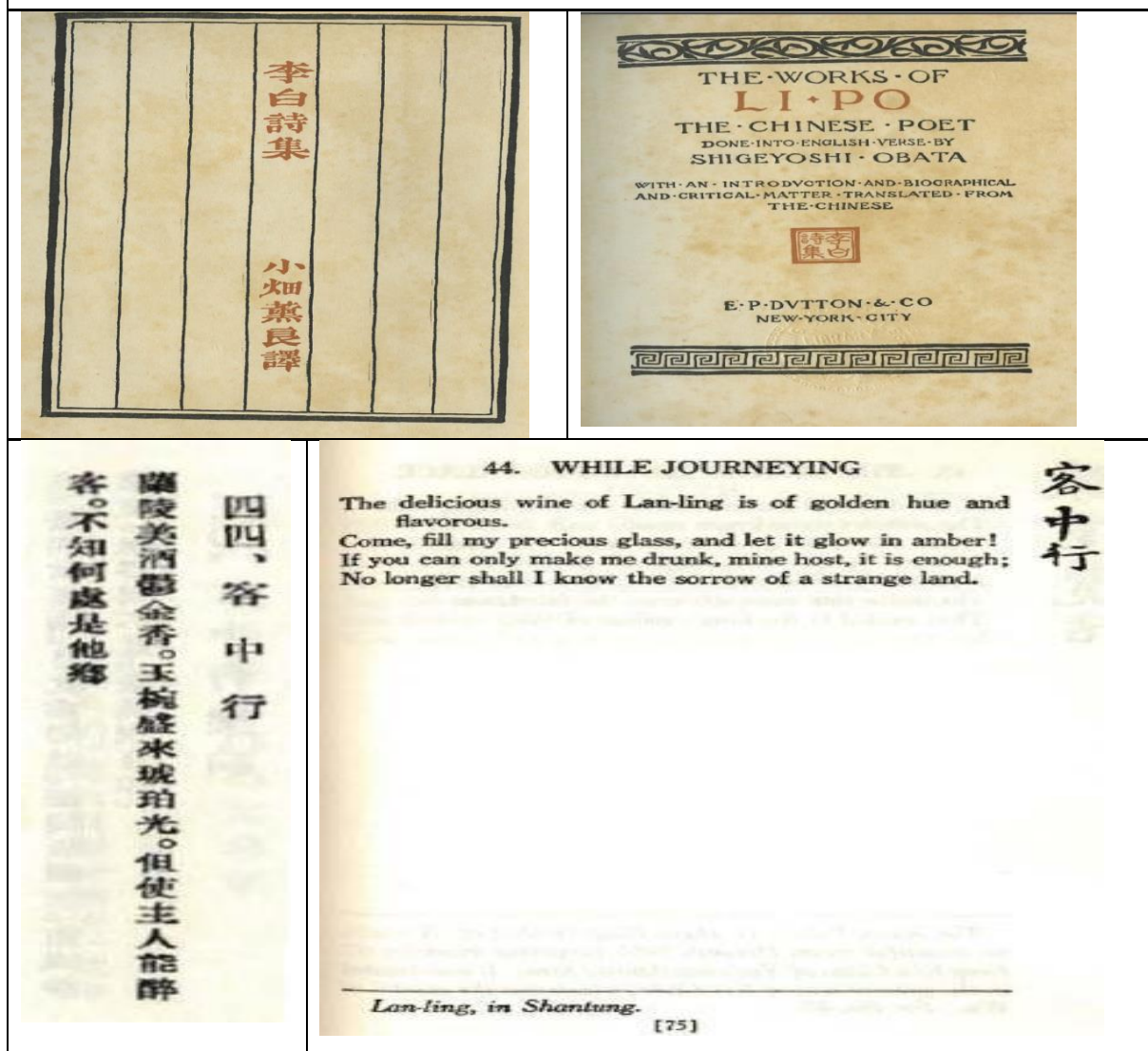


For the English translation, Hawkes consults Obata’s version, writing down on NB364 as follows:

“ See Obata 75 “

Though the title of the book is not indicated on NB364, it must refer to Obata's translation of Li Bai's poems, entitled “*The works of Li Po, the Chinese poet: done into English verse by Shigeyoshi Obata*” (李白詩集 小畑薰良譯).⁹¹ The author was a great enthusiast for Chinese poetry, especially that of Li Bai.

Fig. 2-137: Obata, Shigeyoshi 小畑薰良. *The Works of Li Po, the Chinese Poet: Done into English Verse by Shigeyoshi Obata*. New York: Paragon Book Reprint, 1965, p.75. ⁹¹



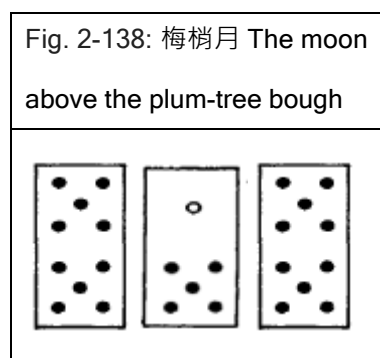
The second line in the poem, 玉碗盛來琥珀光, corresponds with “Come, fill my precious glass, and let it glow in amber!” in Obata’s translation. The poet, Li Bai, describes the delicious wine from Lanling 蘭陵, which glows amber in the container. 蘭陵 is a place in Shandong, which

produces a famous wine. Amber 琥珀 is used to describe the wine, which has a colour like amber.

With reference to Obata, Hawkes renders the line 玉盃盛來琥珀光 as “pour me its liquid amber in a jade cup.” (P III, 62, 204)

The third quotation: 「直飲到梅梢月上」

梅梢月 is the title for a threesome with dominoes 骨牌, containing the following combination:



In the drinking game, threesomes with dominoes, each player is given a set of three dominoes. “There were conventional names for certain combinations: a double six was ‘heaven’ or ‘the sky’.” (P II, App. II, 586)

As for this combination, the title 梅梢月 is based on the middle domino with one red dot on the top and five green dots at the bottom. The red dot on the top is like the rising moon, the green dots at the bottom are shaped like the plum flower 梅花. Accordingly, Hawkes renders 梅梢月 as “The moon above the plum-tree bough.” (P III, 62, 204)

Hawkes provides an Appendix on the Chinese dominoes in Volume 2 of the *Stone* (P II, App. II, 586-7); See also Section 2.1.12 for further details on Chinese dominoes.

The fourth quotation: 「醉扶歸」

醉扶歸 “Zuifugui” is the title of an aria pattern 曲牌 for lyrics in a play. The lyrics in Yuan plays are written to established melodies, i.e. aria patterns. 醉扶歸 is one of the aria patterns 曲牌 used for lyrics in *The Return of the Soul* 牡丹亭 (Scene 10: Jingmeng 驚夢).⁹²

Hawkes renders 醉扶歸 as “Rolling Home”.

(P III, 62, 204)

The fifth quotation: 「卻為宜會親友」

This is a quotation derived from an almanac (曆書句). Renmin provides a note indicating this is a quotation from 「時憲書, 即曆書。」

(R III, 62, 791)

The almanac gives guidance on what to do and what not to do on particular days, which, in this case, indicates that it is a suitable time for meeting a friend.

Translation

With all 5 quotations resolved, Hawkes writes down his draft at the bottom of NB364, putting down in brackets the rules of the drinking game as shown in the original Chinese version. In fact, the following draft on NB364 is what we find in the *Stone*, with the addition highlighted in yellow and the substitution of “sound” for “good” in no.5 as follows:

1. 泉香而酒冽 The spring water being sweet, the wine is good (古文)
2. 玉盃盛來琥珀光 Pour me its liquid amber in a jade cup (舊詩)
3. 直飲到梅梢月上 We'll drink till **we see** 'The moon above the plum-tree bough' (骨牌名)
4. 醉扶歸 Then, **as we're** Rolling Home (曲牌名)
5. 卻為宜會親友 “It will be a good time to meet a friend” (On NB364 the crossed-out original reads: It would be an advantage to meet a close friend”, which is modified as “It will be a sound time to meet a friend”) (憲書上的話)

(NB364) (R III, 62, 793) (P III, 62, 204)

2.2 Examples of references to two major plays in the novel (*Western Chamber* 西廂記 and *The Return of the Soul* 牡丹亭)

2.2.1 *Western Chamber*: Of silver spear the leaden counterfeit 鐵鎗頭 (Thur 25 Nov 1971) (NB39) & (undated) (NB312)

In Chapter 23, when Bao-yu meets Dai-yu, she is sorrowfully burying the flowers in the Garden, sweeping up the fallen petals and putting them into the bag. He offers to help. Dai-yu notices that he is holding some books. Dai-yu urges him to tell her what the books are. He hesitates because the books are considered not suitable for adolescents.

Bao-yu's attempt to hide the books is unconvincing to Dai-yu. Then, Bao-yu reckons that she would agree with him that they are good books, so he shows her what they are, and asks Dai-yu to promise not to tell anybody about them.

As expected by Bao-yu, Dai-yu enjoys the book very much. Dai-yu enjoys it so much that she keeps on reading it for quite a while, and tries to memorise some of the text.

Bao-yu teases her by using the quotation from the story, 會真記, which was made into the play known as *Western Chamber* 西廂記, which she is reading at the moment:

「我就是個『多愁多病的身』，

你就是那『傾國傾城的貌』。」

(R I, 23,269)

The expression 傾國傾城 is an allusion to great beauties in history who distract the Emperors from governing the country, thus leading to the eventual downfall of their kingdoms. It was first used in *Han Shu* 漢書⁹³, was adapted in *Western Chamber* 西廂記, and then quoted in the *Stone* 紅樓夢.

In *Han Shu*, 傾國傾城 is an allusion to the great beauty, Li Fu Ren, 李夫人, the favourite concubine of the Emperor Wu in the Han Dynasty, as shown in the following poem:

「北方有佳人 “In the north is a beautiful woman;

絕世而獨立 Without compeer, she stands alone.

一顧傾人城 A single glance topples a city,

再顧傾人國」 A second glance topples a state.”⁹⁴

In *Western Chamber*, 傾國傾城⁹⁵ is used as follows:

「小子多愁多病身 “How can my body that is full of grief and full of sickness

怎當他傾國傾城貌」 Stand a face that can topple cities and topple states?”⁹⁶

This is a reflection sung by the protagonist, Scholar Zhang, to the tune of “Yan’erluo” 雁兒落, referring to himself and his beautiful lover, Ying-ying.

In the *Stone*, Bao-yu teases Dai-yu using this quotation, referring to himself as the Scholar Zhang, and Dai-yu as the beautiful Ying-ying, 「我就是個『多愁多病的身』, 你就是那『傾國傾城的貌』。」 (R I, 23, 269)

On NB312, Hawkes identifies the line, 「多愁多病的身」, as originating from *Western Chamber* and gives the Volume and Act numbers, the tune of the song, and the role who sings, as shown in the following:

Fig. 2-139: NB312	
269	我就是个「多愁多病的身...」
	<u>西廂記</u> 第一本第四折 <u>雁兒落</u> (生唱)
	我則道這玉天仙離了碧霄
	元來是可意種來清醮 ... How can I, <u>full of sickness and of woe,</u>
	小子多愁多病身 Withstand <u>that face which kingdoms</u>
	怎当他傾國傾城貌 <u>could o'erthrow?</u>
<p>269 我就是个「多愁多病的身 ...」</p> <p><u>西廂記</u> 第一本第四折 <u>雁兒落</u> (生唱)</p> <p>我則道這玉天仙離了碧霄</p> <p>元來是可意種來清醮</p> <p>小子多愁[愁]多病身 How can I, <u>full of sickness and of woe,</u></p> <p>怎当他傾國傾城貌 Withstand <u>that face which kingdoms could o'erthrow?</u></p>	

Also, Hawkes copies down two more lines to give context, and then writes the draft of the translation of the quotation, which is the same as what we find in the *Stone*, as shown in the following (NB312):

「我就是個『多愁多病的身』，

你就是那『傾國傾城的貌』。」

(R I, 23, 269)

“How can I, full of sickness and of woe,

Withstand that face which kingdoms could o'erthrow.”

(P I, 23, 464)

The story goes as follows:

Dai-yu is embarrassed, and remarks that *Western Chamber* is an awful play. She threatens to report him to her Uncle and Aunt. Bao-yu is scared and begs Dai-yu to forgive him. He says something ridiculous to ask Dai-yu for forgiveness, saying that if he has really tried to get the better of her, he should be devoured by a turtle in the water, and himself become a stone turtle in front of her grave as a punishment.

Dai-yu ridicules him with the words, 「原來也是個『銀樣鐵鎗頭』」 (R I, 23, 270) using a quotation from *Western Chamber* (Book The Fourth, Act 2)⁹⁷, just as Bao-yu had.

In the play, Scholar Zhang 張君端, the protagonist, is a young scholar who falls in love with Ying-ying 鶯鶯, the female protagonist. They are both visitors staying in the lodgings of a monastery. When the monastery is besieged by mutinous local troops, Ying-ying's mother promises to let Ying-ying marry Scholar Zhang if he can protect them from the siege. However, after Scholar Zhang's help, Ying-ying's mother tries to go back on her word.

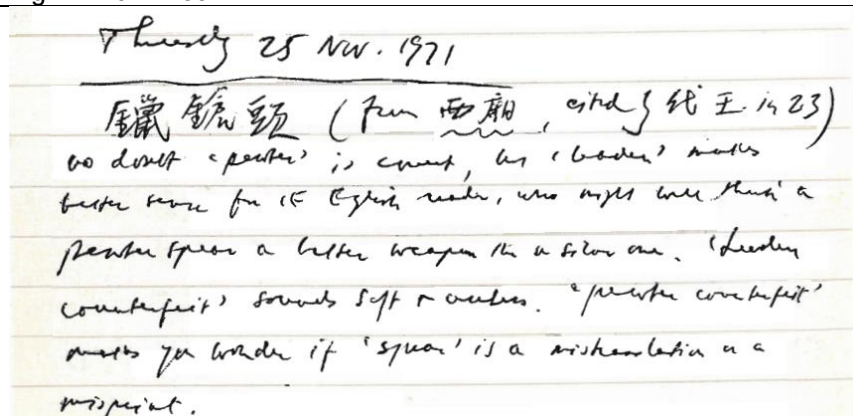
Fortunately, Ying-ying manages to go out for a tryst with Scholar Zhang, through the help of her maid, Reddie 紅娘. Ying-ying's mother is furious when she finds out about this. Reddie urges Scholar Zhang to go to speak to Ying-ying's mother, but he doesn't dare to.

Reddie accuses him of being 鐵鎗頭 (literally, an imitation silver spear, i.e. all show and no substance).

鐵鎗頭 is a spear which looks silver but is actually made of pewter (an alloy of tin and lead) and can easily be bent.

On NB39, Hawkes remarks on his decision to translate 鐵鎗頭 as follows:

Fig. 2-140: NB39

	
<p>鐵鎗頭 (from <u>西廂</u>, cited by 代玉 in 23)</p> <p>no doubt 'pewter' is correct, but 'leaden' makes better sense for the English reader, who might well think a pewter spear a better weapon than a silver one. 'Leaden counterfeit' sounds soft & useless. 'pewter counterfeit' makes you wonder if 'spear' is a mistranslation or a misprint.</p>	

Hawkes chooses to translate the expression 鐵鎗頭 simply as leaden counterfeit rather than pewter counterfeit because pewter would not suggest softness in the minds of the English readers.

Having resolved the translation, Hawkes writes down several lines of the original Chinese text in *Western Chamber* ⁹⁷ to give context to the expression 鐵鎗頭 as follows: (NB312)

Fig. 2-141: NB312	
270	<p>原來也是個「銀樣……</p> <p>西廂記 第四本 第二折 小桃紅 (紅娘唱)</p> <p>既然泄漏怎干休</p> <p>是我相投首</p> <p>俺家裏陪酒陪茶到攔就</p> <p>你休愁</p> <p>何須約定通媒媾</p> <p>我棄了部署不收</p> <p>你元來苗而不秀</p> <p>呸，你是個銀樣鐵鎗頭</p>
270	<p>原來也是個「銀樣 …</p> <p>西廂記 第四本 第二折 小桃紅 (紅娘唱)</p> <p>既然泄漏怎干休</p> <p>是我相投首</p> <p>俺家裏陪酒陪茶到攔就</p> <p>你休愁</p> <p>何須約定通媒媾</p> <p>我棄了部署不收</p> <p>你元來苗而不秀</p> <p>呸，你是個銀樣鐵鎗頭 You are <u>a sham spear with soft leaden head.</u></p>

As shown in the above, Hawkes writes the following draft translation of the line in the play:

“you are a sham spear with soft leaden head.” (NB312)

This draft is modified for the published translation as follows:

「原來也是個「銀樣鐵鎗頭」！」 (R I, 23, 270)

- “Well, I know you now for what you are: “Of silver spear the leaden counterfeit” !“

(P I, 23, 465)

2.2.2 *The Return of the Soul*: Here multiflorate splendour blooms forlorn 原來是姹紫嫣紅開遍 (undated) (NB321)

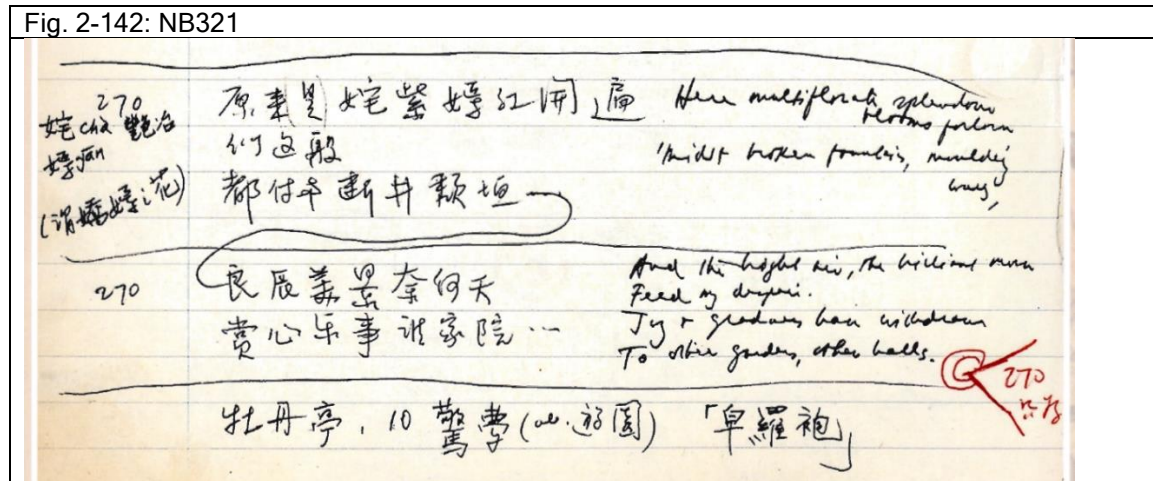
In Chapter 23, after Dai-yu parts with Bao-yu, Dai-yu returns to her house. On the way, she passes by Pear Tree Court and overhears a rehearsal. She hears two arias from Jingmeng 驚夢 from *The Return of the Soul*, 牡丹亭⁹⁸, in which Du Liniang, the female protagonist, mourns the passing of spring and of her own unappreciated beauty.

First aria: 「原來是姹紫嫣紅開遍, 似這般, 都付與斷井頽垣 ...」 (R I, 23, 270)

Second aria: 「良辰美景奈何天, 賞心樂事誰家院 ...」 (R I, 23, 270)

Hawkes gives the source for these famous lines as follows (NB321):

Fig. 2-142: NB321



270 姹 chà 嫣 yān 艷治 (謂嬌嫣之花)

原來(是)姹紫嫣紅開遍

Here multiflorate splendour blooms forlorn

似這般

都付與斷井頽垣

'Midst broken fountains, mouldering walls.

良辰美景奈何天

And the bright air, the brilliant morn

Feed my despair.

賞心樂事誰家院

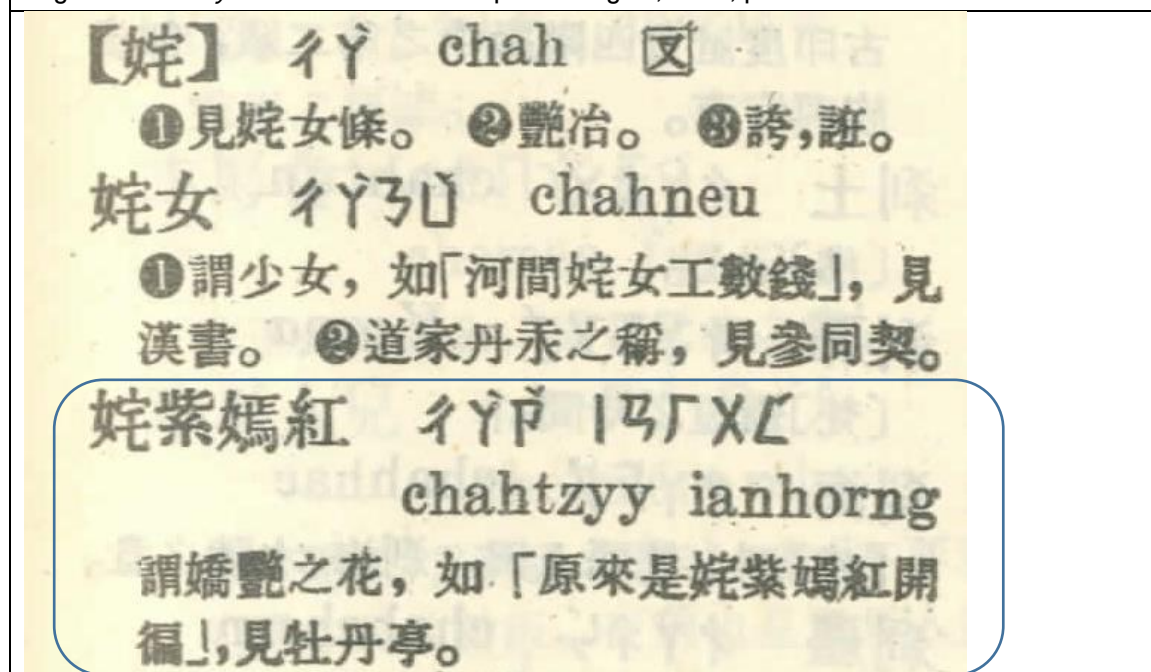
Joy and gladness have withdrawn

To other gardens, other halls.

牡丹亭, 10 驚夢 (alt. 遊園) 「皂羅袍」

In the margin of NB321, Hawkes notes down the meaning of 姹紫嫣紅. He writes 「艷冶」 next to 「姹嫣」. And writes 「嬌嫣之花」 with reference to 「嬌艷之花」, presumably from the following dictionary entry in *Guoyu cidian*⁹⁹.

Fig. 2-143: *Guoyu cidian* 國語辭典. Taipei: Shangwu, 1966, p.2799.⁹⁹



As shown on NB321, Hawkes writes that these lines originate from the play, *The Return of the Soul* 牡丹亭, Scene 10 Jingmeng, 驚夢 or Youyuan 遊園, in which the aria pattern, “Zaoluopao” 「皂羅袍」, is used.

Hawkes brackets the character 「是」 in the line, 「原來 (是) 姹紫嫣紅開遍」, as this is included in *HLM* but not in the original play, 牡丹亭.

Also, Hawkes draws a line to connect the quotation 「都付與斷井頽垣」 with the quotation 「良辰美景奈何天」, perhaps indicating that the former is immediately followed by the latter in the play, 牡丹亭, though, in *HLM*, they are separated as follows:

偶然兩句吹到耳朵內，明明白白一字不落道：「原來是姹紫嫣紅開遍，似這般，都付與斷井頽垣……」

... 又唱道是：「良辰美景奈何天，賞心樂事誰家院……」 (R I, 23, 270)

Hawkes also drafts a translation of these lines, which is retained almost fully in the published version. The only alterations are the omission of the apostrophe in “ ‘Midst “ which shows the word is an abbreviation of “Amidst”, and the addition of dashes at the end of the quotations.

First aria:

「原來是姹紫嫣紅開遍，似這般， “Here multiflorate splendour blooms forlorn

「都付與斷井頽垣 …」 Midst broken fountains, mouldering walls –“

(R I, 23, 270) (P I, 23, 466)

Second aria:

「良辰美景奈何天， “And the bright air, the brilliant morn

Feed my despair.

「賞心樂事誰家院 …」 Joy and gladness have withdrawn

To other gardens, other halls –“ (R I, 23, 270) (P I, 23, 466)

At the end of the draft translation, Hawkes writes “270 只為” indicating the next quotation 「只為你如花美眷」 (on p.270 of *Renmin*) comes a few lines later in the same play (as discussed in the next Section).

2.2.3 *The Return of the Soul* 2: Because for you, my flowerlike fair. The swift years like the waters flow 只為你如花美眷, 似水流年 (undated) (NB307)

The first aria Dai-yu hears (as shown in Section 2.2.2) has a strange effect on her and she stops moving. Hearing the second aria, her head nods unconsciously and she sighs, thinking even plays can contain good poetry. Then, she is immediately sorry that her own thoughts have distracted her from the music. She concentrates on the singing again. But it has now become another aria sung by Du Linjiang's lover from the same play, *The Return of the Soul* 牡丹亭.

「只為你如花美眷, 似水流年 ... 」

「你在幽閨自憐 ... 」

(R I, 23, 270)

Hawkes writes on NB307 as follows:

Fig. 2-144: NB307

<p>270 (生唱) 柳夢梅 sings</p>	<p>牡丹亭 contd, 「山桃紅」 則為你如花美眷 似水流年 (是答兒閑尋遍) 在幽閨自憐</p> <p>All because you, my flowerlike fair, Through years that like the waters flow, Searching, searching everywhere (Though for what, you do not know) Sit in your dark room in despair.</p> <p>牡丹亭</p>	<p>All because you, my flowerlike fair, Through years that like the waters flow, Searching, searching everywhere (Though for what, you do not know) Sit in your dark room in despair.</p> <p>and</p>
<p>270 牡丹亭 contd, 「山桃紅」 (生唱) 柳夢梅 sings</p> <p>則為你如花美眷</p> <p>似水流年 (是答兒閑尋遍)</p> <p>在幽閨自憐</p>		

As in the previous quotation, Hawkes in the *Notebooks* gives the play 牡丹亭 as the origin of these famous lines, and indicates by “contd” that they occur shortly afterwards in the play’s text.

He also notes the aria pattern, “Shantaohong” 「山桃紅」, which is to be sung by the male protagonist (生唱), who is called 柳夢梅.

On NB307, Hawkes also inserts in brackets the phrase from 牡丹亭¹⁰⁰ which is omitted in *HLM* as follows:

「則為你如花美眷, 似水流年, (是答兒閑尋遍), 在幽閨自憐 ... 」

The bracketed phrase is included in his draft translation on NB307, which is modified in the published version:

Note: the lines in *HLM* differ slightly from those in 牡丹亭 as follows:

「則為你如花美眷」 in 牡丹亭 reads 「只為你如花美眷」 in *HLM*;

「在幽閨自憐」 in 牡丹亭 reads 「你在幽閨自憐」 in *HLM*:

	NB307	<i>Stone</i> (P I, 23, 466)
只為你如花美眷,	All because you, my flowerlike fair,	Because for you, my flowerlike fair,
似水流年 ...	Through years that like the waters flow,	The swift years like the waters flow --
是答兒閑尋遍* 你在幽閨自憐 ...	Searching, searching everywhere (Though for what, you do not know) Sit in your dark room and despair.	I have sought you everywhere, And at last I find you here, In a dark room full of woe --

*words omitted in *HLM*: 是答兒閑尋遍

2.2.4 Cui Tu: Relentlessly the waters flow, the flowers fade 水流花謝兩無情 (undated) (NB310)

Dai-yu is completely entranced as if in a delirium. In the end her legs give way and she falls onto a rock.

The arias remind her of several other poems, all of which echo the image of fallen flowers and leaves floating downstream.

1. 「水流花謝兩無情」
2. 「流水落花春去也，天上人間」
3. 「花落水流紅，閑愁萬種」 (R I, 23, 270)

In the *Notebooks*, Hawkes identifies the sources for the above 3 quotations as follows:

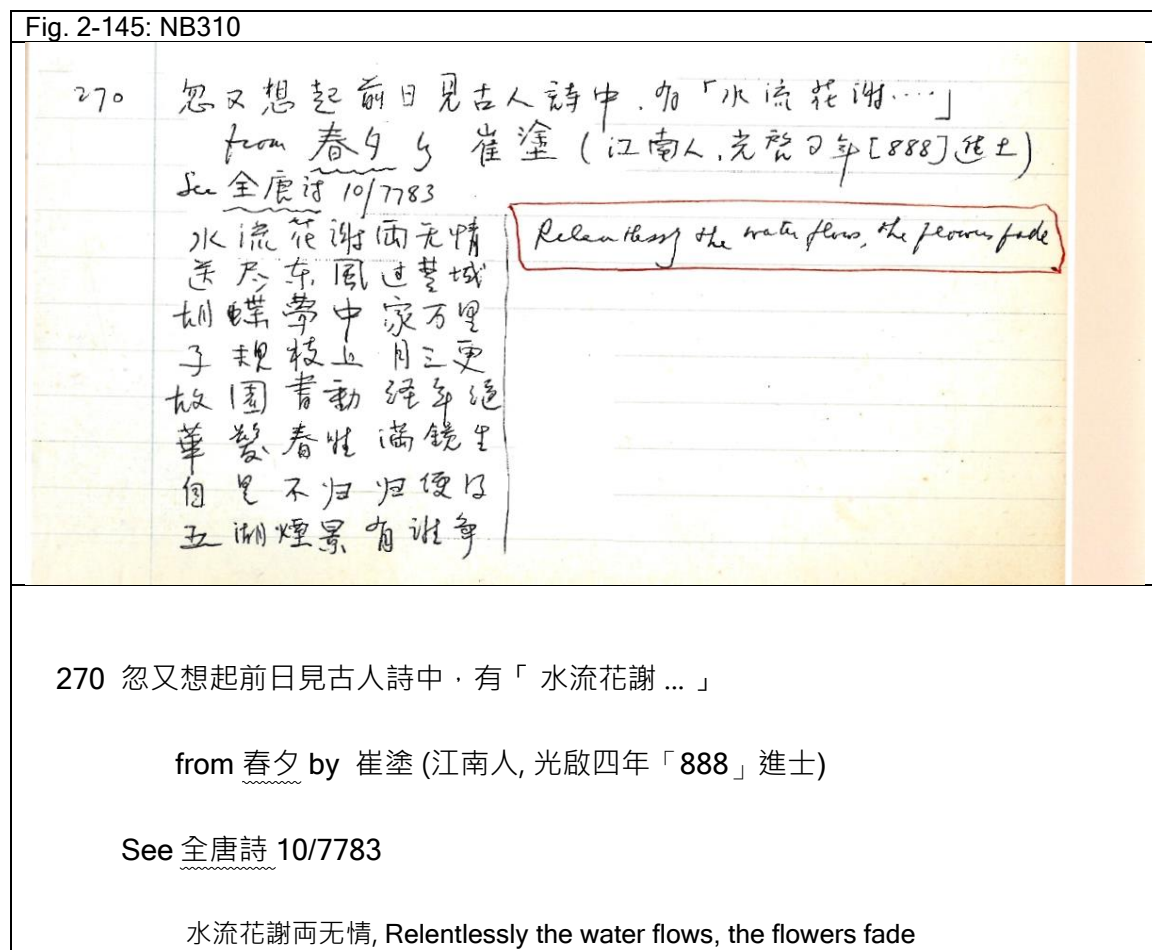
First quotation: 「水流花謝兩無情」

Hawkes writes on NB310 that this quotation originates from Chunxi 春夕 by Cui Tu 崔塗, and gives brief biographical notes on the poet as follows:

(江南人, 光啟四年「888」進士)

He also gives the source of the poem in *Quan Tangshi*,¹⁰¹ “(see 全唐詩 10/7783)”, taking the trouble to write down the Chinese text as follows: (NB310)

Fig. 2-145: NB310



270 忽又想起前日見古人詩中，有「水流花謝……」
 from 春夕 by 崔塗 (江南人, 光啟四年[888]進士)
 See 全唐詩 10/7783
 水流花謝兩無情
 送盡東風過楚城
 蝴蝶夢中家萬里
 子規枝上月三更
 故園春動經年絕
 華髮春生滿鏡生
 自是歸歸便得
 五湖煙景有誰爭

Relentlessly the water flows, the flowers fade

270 忽又想起前日見古人詩中，有「水流花謝 …」

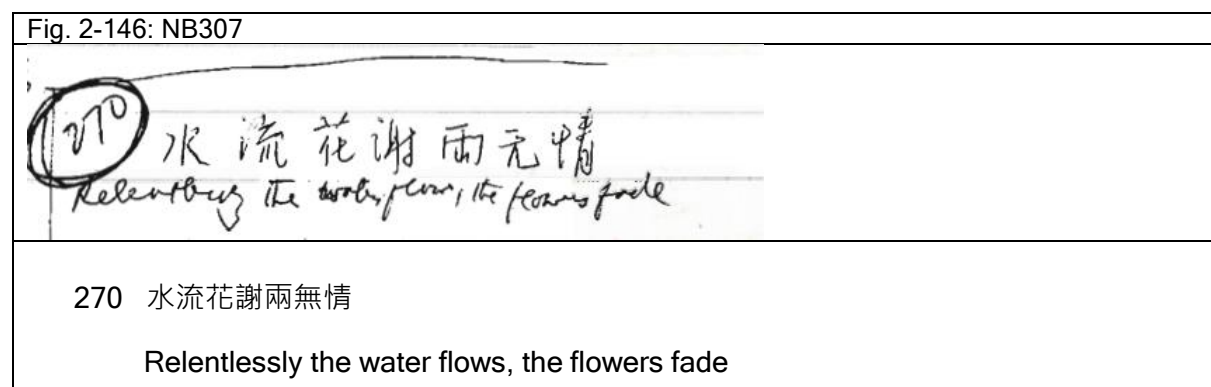
from 春夕 by 崔塗 (江南人, 光啟四年「888」進士)

See 全唐詩 10/7783

水流花謝兩無情, Relentlessly the water flows, the flowers fade

送尽东风过楚城
 蝴蝶夢中家万里
 子規枝上月三更
 故園書動經年絕
 華髮春唯滿鏡生
 自是不归归便得
 五湖煙景有誰爭

Hawkes then writes on NB310 a draft of the translation of the quotation beside the Chinese text (an identical draft translation is also found on NB307):



As shown in the following, the published translation slightly differs from the draft (NB307 & NB310):

「水流花謝兩無情」 (R I, 23, 270)

“Relentlessly the waters flow, the flowers fade.” (P I, 23, 466)

2.2.5 Li Yu: The blossoms fall, the water flows 流水落花春去也 (NB310)

Second Quotation: 「流水落花春去也·天上人間」

For the second quotation by Dai-yu, Hawkes identifies the source as 浪淘沙 by 南唐後主李煜 and gives biographical notes on the poet as follows: (NB310)

“from 浪淘沙 by 南唐後主李煜 (937-978): he lost his Kingdom ae. [at the age of] 40 in 976 and was poisoned on his birthday, 七. 七) “ [i.e. on the seventh of July]

Based on this, Hawkes adds in the published translation the incorporated footnote, “From that her mind turned to those famous lines written in his captivity by the tragic poet-emperor of the Later Tang” (P I, 23, 467)

Also, Hawkes writes on NB310 the text of 浪淘沙¹⁰² and adds a translation of the last 5 lines as follows:

Fig. 2-147: NB310

<p>270</p>	<p>再詞中又有「流水……」 from 浪淘沙 by 南唐後主李煜 (937-978: he lost his Kingdom ae. 40 in 976 and was poisoned on his birthday, 七. 七)</p> <p>簾外雨潺潺 春意闌珊 羅衾不耐五更寒 夢裏不知身是客 一晌貪歡 * * * * *</p> <p>獨自莫凭闌 無限江山 別時容易見時難 流水落花春去也 天上人間</p>
<p>270 再詞中又有「流水 …」</p>	<p>from 浪淘沙 by 南唐後主李煜 (937-978): he lost his Kingdom ae. 40 in 976 and</p>

I must not from the window
gaze alone
At that great wealth of
lands and lakes
So soon but so vividly gone.
The blossoms fall, the water
flows,
The glory of the spring is done
In ~~the~~ nature's world as in
the human one.

was poisoned on his birthday, 七. 七)

簾外雨潺潺

春意闌珊

羅衾不耐五更寒

夢裏不知身是客

一晌貪歡

x x x x x

獨自莫憑欄

I must not from the window gaze alone

無限江山

At that great wealth of lands and lakes

別時容易見時難

So soon but so irrevocably gone.

流水落花春去也

The blossoms fall, the water flows,

The glory of the spring is done

天上人間

In nature's world as in the human one.

Hawkes, always eager to be complete, translates altogether 5 lines of the lyric poem to give context to the quotation, although only the last two lines are quoted in the novel.

He retains in the published version his translation from NB310, with the exception of the translation for 「春去也」, which reads “spring is gone” instead of “spring is done” on NB310.

「流水落花春去也, “The blossoms fall, the water flows,

The glory of the spring is gone

天上人間」

In nature's world as in the human one -- “ (R I, 23, 270) (P I, 23, 467)

2.2.6 Western Chamber 2: As flowers fall and the flowing stream runs red 花落水流紅 (NB311)

Third Quotation: 「花落水流紅，閑愁萬種」

For the third quotation by Dai-yu, Hawkes writes on NB311 that the line originates from *Western Chamber*¹⁰³ (Book The First, Prologue) sung by Ying-ying, the female protagonist, who reflects on seeing the fallen flowers flowing away on the water, and sadly laments the transience of youth.

Hawkes writes on NB311 as follows:

Fig. 2-148: NB311

<p>270</p> <p>又兼方才所見 西廂記中「落花...」</p> <p>From 西廂記 第一本 楔子 賞花時么篇 (旦扮鶯鶯唱)</p> <p>可正是人值殘春蒲郡東。</p> <p>門掩重閨蕭寺中*</p> <p>花落水流紅</p> <p>閒愁萬種</p> <p>怨語怨春風</p>	<p>* This line is from 李紳's 宮怨歌 (have 可正是)</p> <p>Here, east of P'u-chou, at the springtime's end, Behind closed doors, within the monastery walls confined, As flowers fall and the flowing stream runs red, A thousand sickly fancies crowd the mind And chide the heartless wind with words unkind.</p> <p>Here, east of P'u-chou, at the springtime's end, Within these monastery walls confined, As flowers fall and the flowing stream runs red A thousand sickly fancies crowd the mind And chide the heartless wind with words unkind.</p>
--	---

270 又兼方才所見 西廂記中「落花...」

From 西廂記 第一本 楔子 賞花時么篇 (旦扮鶯鶯唱)

可正是人值殘春蒲郡東 Here, east of P'u-chou, at the springtime's end,

門掩重關蕭寺中*	Within these monastery walls confined,
花落水流紅	As flowers fall and the flowing stream runs red,
閒愁萬種	A thousand sickly fancies crowd the mind.
無語怨東風	And chide the heartless wind with words unsaid.
*this line is from 李紳's 鶯鶯歌 (hence 可正是)	

As with the previous quotation, Hawkes translates 5 lines of the poem to give context to the quotation, although only two lines are quoted in the novel, which we find in the published translation.

「花落水流紅, “As flowers fall and the flowing stream runs red,
閒愁萬種」 A thousand sickly fancies crowd the mind.”

(R I, 23,270) (P I, 23, 467)

Also, Hawkes identifies the source for the line 門掩重關蕭寺中, which is 李紳's 鶯鶯歌 (NB311). This was composed by a Tang poet, Li Shen 李紳, and describes the story of Ying-ying based on *Ying-ying Zhuan* 鶯鶯傳, written by Yuan Zhen, 元稹, in the same Dynasty. *Ying-ying Zhuan* 鶯鶯傳 is, in fact, the story on which *Western Chamber* was based.

2.2.7 *Western Chamber* 3: Each day in a drowsy waking dream of love 每日家, 情思睡昏昏 (Wed 23 Feb 1972) (NB62-3)

Chapter 26 illustrates how both Dai-yu and Bao-yu are able to recite texts from their beloved *Western Chamber*, as shown in the following episode:

Dai-yu is lying in bed, unthinkingly reciting the following line from this work, yawning lazily and indulgently as she stretches out in her bed:

「每日家, 情思睡昏昏!」 (R I, 26, 306)

Bao-yu arrives at the same time in the courtyard of the Naiad's House. He happens to overhear Dai-yu's words from the bedroom above. Bao-yu realizes that it is Dai-yu. Knowing that Dai-

yu has quoted *Western Chamber*, Bao-yu laughs, asking Dai-yu through the window, why 「每日家情思睡昏昏」, then he walks into the room.

The expression originates from Book the Second, Act 1 of the play, *Western Chamber*¹⁰⁴ when Ying-ying, reflecting on seeing Scholar Zhang the other day at the religious ceremony, is affected so strongly that she cannot eat or drink, a feeling reinforced by the spring season.

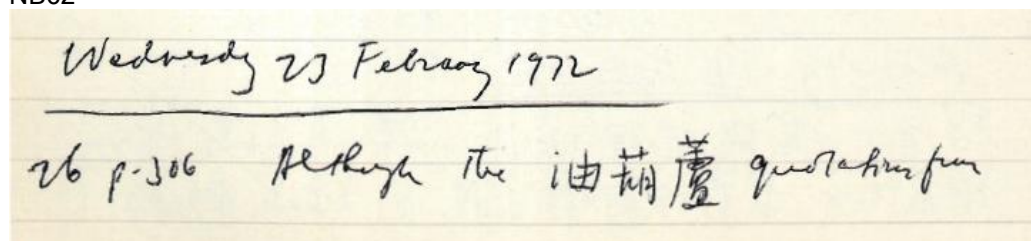
Being herself in this state of mind, Ying-ying sings to the tune of Youhulu 油葫蘆 the expression, 「每日價情思睡昏昏 / 鎮日價情思睡昏昏」.

每日/鎮日 means throughout the day, 價 denotes the ending of the expression, which is 家在 *HLM*.

Hawkes writes on NB62-3 as follows:

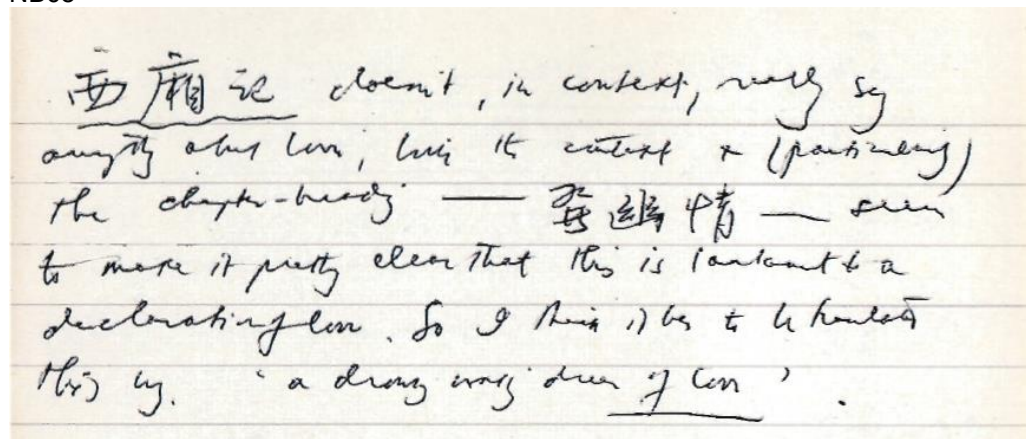
Fig. 2-149: NB62-3

NB62



Wednesday 23 February 1972
26 p.306 Although the 油葫蘆 quotation from

NB63



西廂記 doesn't, in context, really say anything about love, but its context & (particularly) the chapter-heading — 發幽情 — seem to make it pretty clear that this is tantamount to a declaration of love. So I think it has to be translated this way. 'a drowsy waking dream of love'.

26 p.306 Although the 油葫蘆 quotation from 西廂記 doesn't, in context, really say anything about love, both its context & (particularly) the chapter-heading — 發幽情 ---- seem to make it pretty clear that this is tantamount to a declaration of love. So I think it has to be translated this way. 'a drowsy waking dream of love'.

As shown on NB63, Hawkes concludes that what Dai-yu recites in bed is “tantamount to a declaration of love”, reflecting Dai-yu’s state of mind just as was the case with Ying-ying, which is consistent with the chapter heading of Chapter 26:

「瀟湘館春困發幽情」 (R I, 26, 300)

“And a soliloquy overheard in the Naiad’s House reveals unsuspected
depths of feeling” (P I, 26, 507)

Accordingly, Hawkes in the published translation renders as follows:

「每日家, 情思睡昏昏!」 (R I, 26, 306)

“Each day in a drowsy waking dream of love” (P I, 26, 516)

In the translation, Hawkes also provides an incorporated footnote on the source of the expression, “the words were from his [Bao-yu’s] beloved *Western Chamber*”;

(P I, 26, 516)

Dai-yu feels embarrassed that her secret has been overheard by Bao-yu. Hearing the declaration of Dai-yu, Bao-yu is clear that Dai-yu loves him. When Nightingale is serving tea for Bao-yu, he quotes from *Western Chamber*.¹⁰⁵

「若共你多情小姐同鴛帳，怎捨得叫你疊被鋪床？」 (R I, 26, 306)

“If with your amorous mistress I should wed,

‘Tis you, sweet maid, must make our bridal bed.” (P I, 26, 517)

(See also Section 4.2.3.2.1)

In *Western Chamber*, this line is spoken by Scholar Zhang to Ying-ying’s maid, expressing his eagerness to marry Ying-ying.

Despite the fact that these lines are also quoted from *Western Chamber* (as Dai-yu has herself done), Bao-yu’s words are lacking in respect and greatly upset Dai-yu.

2.2.8 *Western Chamber* 4: Her true-love's gone to follow ambition's drum 梅教夫婿覓封侯 (Wed 16 May 1973) (NB108)

As in Chapter 26, Bao-yu here remembers some of the text of *Western Chamber*. He is able to quote a line from it during the drinking game with Xue Pan.

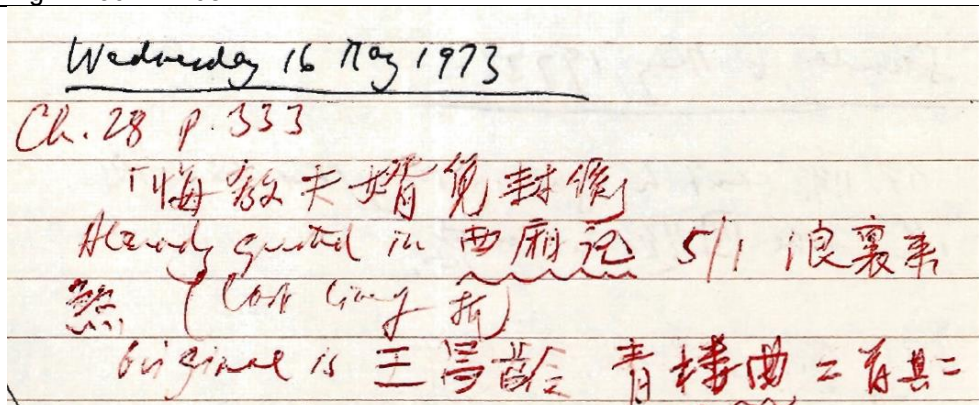
In Chapter 28, Feng Zi-ying invites Bao-yu and Xue-Pan to his house for a gathering with Jiang Yu-han, an actor, as well as Nuageuse, a female entertainer.

They start a drinking game in which they have to choose one of the objects in front of them (e.g. animal or vegetable object) and produce a literary quotation to match it.

「梅教夫婿覓封侯」 is one of the lines Bao-yu quotes in the drinking game.

(R I, 28, 333)

Hawkes traces this expression and writes down the following two reference sources on NB108 as follows:

<p>Fig. 2-150: NB108</p> 	
<p>Ch. 28 p.333</p> <p>「梅教夫婿覓封侯」</p> <p>Already quoted in <u>西廂記</u> 5/1 浪裏來煞 (last line of 折)</p> <p>Original is 王昌齡 <u>青樓曲</u> 二首其二</p>	

The expression originates from the poem entitled “Qinglouqu” 青樓曲 by the Tang poet, Wang Changling 王昌齡 (698-756).¹⁰⁶ It is about a bride who expresses her longing for her husband, a soldier fighting in war. 「悔教夫婿覓封侯」 means she regrets letting her husband leave her while seeking fame in war.

「悔教夫婿覓封侯」 is then quoted in 西廂記 5/1 (*Western Chamber* Book the Fifth, Act 1)¹⁰⁷ in which Ying-ying, the female protagonist, sings to the tune of “Langlilaisha” 「浪裏來煞」. In the play, Scholar Zhang, the male protagonist, sends a messenger to tell Ying-ying the good news that he has been successful at court. Ying-ying writes back to say that she misses him, and wishes she had never encouraged his ambition which has now separated them.

Based on the above, Hawkes renders the expression 「悔教夫婿覓封侯」 as follows:

“Her true-love’s gone to follow ambition’s drum.”

(P II, 28, 55)

2.2.9 *Western Chamber* 5: A place remote, where footsteps seldom pass 幽僻處可有人行 (Wed 10 Oct 1973) (NB120), (undated) NB266 & NB330)

Chapter 35 describes Dai-yu observing happenings in the House of Green Delights from a distance. She sees Bao-yu’s family members, including Li Wan, Ying-chun, Tan-chun and Xi-chun, together with their numerous maids, coming to visit Bao-yu.

Alone with her maid, Nightingale, she reflects how wonderful it would be if she too had a family.

As she enters her own home, the Naiad’s House, she notices the dappled shadows of the bamboos and the dew on the moss. The combination of her loneliness and the physical setting reminds her of the feeling of Scholar Zhang, the protagonist in *Western Chamber*.

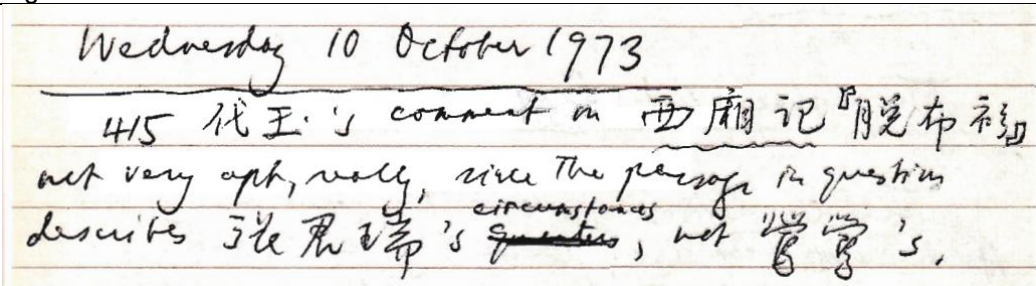
「幽僻處，可有人行？點蒼苔，白露冷冷」

(R II, 35, 414)

The quote is from the point in the play, *Western Chamber*¹⁰⁸, in which Reddie 紅娘 (Ying-ying’s maid) sings to the tune, “Tuobushan” 脫布衫, reflecting on Scholar Zhang’s loneliness.

In *Western Chamber*, Ying-ying's mother promises to let Ying-ying marry Scholar Zhang if he can protect them from the siege. After Zhang saves Ying-ying from the mutinous troops, Ying-ying's mother promises to invite Zhang to a feast the day after. After a long delay, Reddie comes to give Scholar Zhang the invitation. The two lines are sung by Reddie when she arrives at Scholar Zhang's remote dwelling.

Hawkes remarks on NB120 as follows:

<p>Fig. 2-151: NB120</p> 
<p>415 代玉's comment on <u>西廂記</u>「脫布衫」 not very apt, really, since the passage in question describes 張君端's circumstances, not 鶯鶯's.</p>

Hawkes, who has a particular interest in Chinese drama, remarks on NB120 that, “‘代玉’s comment on 西廂記「脫布衫」 is not that appropriate. The expression in question applies to the male protagonist, whereas Dai-yu is referring to her own circumstances. Hawkes’ familiarity with the play enables him to make the point.

Despite the remarks, Hawkes simply translates the text as it is.

As with previous quotations, Hawkes gives on NB330 the origin of the line, the tune of the song, and the role of the singer as follows. However, the reference to Book the Second, Act 3 should actually be Act 2 (第二本, 第二折):

Fig. 2-152: NB330

414	<p>西廂記 第二本(崔鶯鶯夜听琴), 第三折: 「脫布衫」 幽僻處可有人行 點蒼苔白露冷冷</p> <p>(N.B. cf. p.311 (ch.26) 「蒼苔露冷 花徑風寒」)</p> <p><i>A place remote where footsteps seldom pass And dew still glistens on the untrodden moss</i></p>
414	<p>西廂記 第二本(崔鶯鶯夜听琴), 第三折: 「脫布衫」 幽僻處可有人行 點蒼苔白露冷冷</p> <p>(N.B. cf. p.311 (ch. 26) 「蒼苔露冷 花徑風寒」)</p> <p>A place remote, where footsteps seldom pass And dew still glistens on the untrodden moss</p>

Fig. 2-153: NB266

414.	<p><i>A place remote, where footsteps seldom pass, And dew still glistens on the untrodden moss.</i></p>
414	<p>A place remote, where footsteps seldom pass, And dew still glistens on the untrodden moss.</p>

Also, Hawkes provides on both NB266 and NB330 a draft translation which is what we find in the published version, with the exception of the last word of the second line, which, in the

published version, reads “grass” instead of “moss”. This was almost certainly to provide a rhyme with ‘pass’. (NB266 & NB330)

「幽僻處，可有人行？」 “A place remote, where footsteps seldom pass,

點蒼苔，白露冷冷」 And dew still glistens on the untrodden grass” (P II, 35, 174)

Hawkes also writes on NB330 the expression 「蒼苔露冷，花徑風寒」 which is shown in Chapter 26, describing Dai-yu’s self-pity when she is turned away by the maids who do not recognize her when she knocks on the door of the Green Delights (Bao-yu’s place) late at night.

“Chill was the green moss pearled with dew

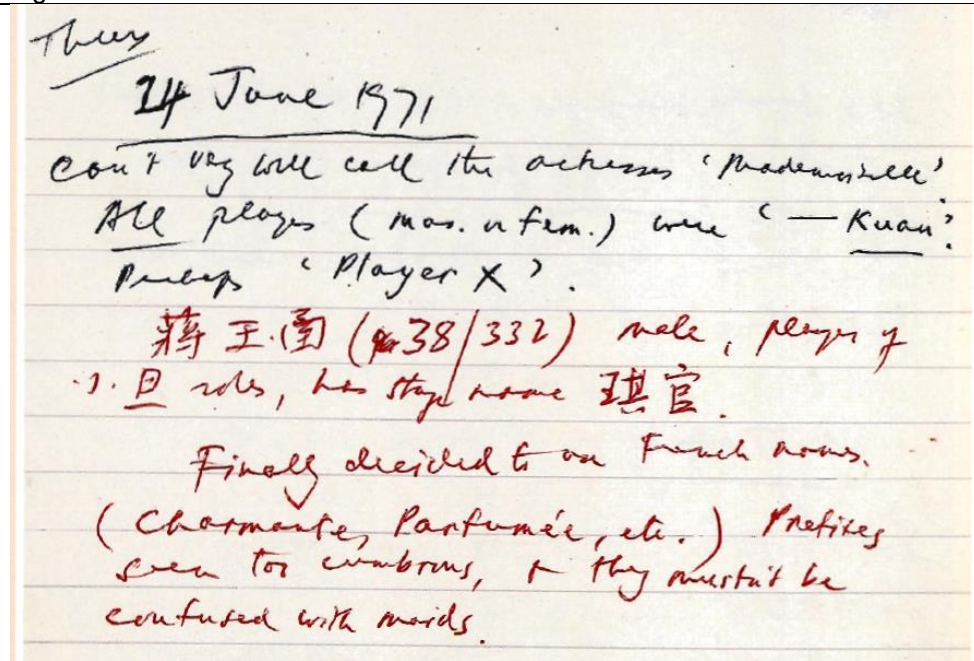
And chill was the wind in the avenue;” (R I, 26, 311) (P I, 26, 525)

2.3 Identification and analysis of names, expressions and use of incorporated footnotes

2.3.1 Players: consideration of names (Thur 24 Jun 1971) (NB19)

The Jia family keeps a troupe of actors in the household for entertainment. In the Chinese text, all the players in Pear Tree Court are given stage names ending with the suffix 官 'Kuan'. For example, the male actor, 蔣玉函 (R I, 28, 332), who plays the role of soubrette 小旦, has the stage name 琪官. This is noted by Hawkes on NB19 as follows:

Fig. 2-154: NB19

	
<p>can't very well call the actresses 'mademoiselle'.</p> <p>All players (mas. or fem.) were '— Kuan'.</p> <p>Perhaps 'Player X'.</p> <p>蔣玉函 (38 [28] /332) male, player of 小旦 roles, has stage name 琪官.</p> <p>Finally decided to use French names (Charmante, Parfumée, etc.)</p> <p>Prefixes seem too cumbersome, & they mustn't be confused with maids.</p>	

As shown on NB19, Hawkes records his thinking on the rendering of the players' names:

To provide an English equivalent to the use of 官 'Kuan' in the Chinese stage names, Hawkes initially thinks of using "Player" as a title for each of the actors as follows:

e.g. 琪官 = Player Qi

芳官 = Player Fang

Hawkes later decides to give French names to the players (see list of names in Section 2.3.2), based on the following rationale:

"Prefixes seem too cumbrous, & they mustn't be confused with maids."

The association of French names with actors may be due to the fact that it was once popular in Britain to bring French actors over. Hawkes initially remarks "can't very well call the actresses 'mademoiselle'. (French for Miss).

2.3.2 Players: French names (Thur 23 Nov 1972) (NB74)

As shown in Section 2.3.1 (NB19), Hawkes decides to come up with French names for the players. Then, Hawkes lists on NB74 the twelve names of the players in the troupe, the translation of their names, their roles and parts, and the different departments of the household in which each of them is placed.

Thurs. 23 Nov 1972

Ta. of actresses:

- * 齒官 Chermante (Fn 齒令 = 壽 see 16/4/73)
- * 文官 Éléante (→ 貴母)
- * 宝官 Trésor [小生 (p. 366)]
- * 玉官 Topaze [正旦 (p. 366)]
- 葵官 Althée (→ 湘雲) 大花面
- * (藥官 Pivoine [死了的藥官 58/746] [小旦])
- 芳官 Parfumée (→ 宝玉) 正旦
- 蕊官 Etamine (→ 宝钗) 小旦
- (藕官 Nénuphar (→ 黛玉) 小生)
- 萱官 Cardamome (→ 宝琴) 小花面
- 艾官 Artémisie (→ 探春) 老外
- 茄官 Aubergine (→ 尤氏) 老旦

In the following table, all the columns are based on NB74 except the column on “Role/Part (English)” which I have added to illustrate NB99-100 as discussed in Section 2.3.3:

Name Chinese	in	Name in French	Department assigned	Role/Part (Chinese)	Role/Part (English)
齡官		Charmante		(For 齡 = 寿 see 16/4/73) *	
文官		Élégante	(賈母)		the leader of the troupe
宝官		Trésor		[小生(p. 366)]	male lead / principal boy
玉官		Topaze		[正旦 (p. 366)]	leading lady
葵官		Althée	(湘雲)	大花面	leading ‘painted face’
藥官		Pivoine	[Deceased]	[死 了 的 藥 官 58/746] [小旦]	soubrette
芳官		Parfumée	(宝玉)	正旦	leading lady
蕊官		Étamine	(宝釵)	小旦	soubrette
藕官		Nénuphar	(代玉)	小生	male lead / principal boy
荳官		Cardamome	(宝琴)	小花面	second / secondary ‘painted face’
艾官		Artémisie	(探春)	老外	old man
茄官		Aubergine	(尤氏)	老旦	old woman

*See Section 2.3.4 for Hawkes’ note on Charmante (For 齡 = 寿 see 16/4/73) as shown in the above.

See further discussion on the players in Sections 2.3.3 - 2.3.5

2.3.3 Players: roles and parts (Thur 1 Mar 1973) (Fri 2 Mar 1973) (NB99-100)

On NB99, Hawkes considers the translation of the parts played by the players as mentioned in the far right column of the table in Section 2.3.2.

Fig. 2-156: NB99-100

NB99

Thursday 1 March 1973

Roles	Parts
丑 comic	
正旦 female leading lady	
小旦 soubrette	
小生 male lead	
大花面 leading 'painted face'	
小花面 secondary 'painted face'	
老外 old man	
老旦 old woman	

Friday 2 Mar 1973

Maybe 'Principal Boy' (the fu 小生, meaning

NB100

The more strongly sexual overtones, (lesbianism)

Thursday 1 March 1973

Roles	...	Parts
丑		comic
正旦		leading lady
小旦		soubrette
小生		male lead
大花面		leading 'painted face'
小花面		secondary 'painted face'
老外		old man

老旦 old woman

Friday 2 Mar 1973

Perhaps 'Principal Boy' better for 小生, because of the more strongly sexual overtones. (Lesbianism)

For the translation of 小生 (normally translated as male protagonist), Hawkes prefers 'Principal Boy', "because of the more strongly sexual overtones. (Lesbianism)" (NB100). So, the "male lead" as shown on NB99 is replaced with "Principal Boy" in the published translation.

(P III, 58, 120)

The translation of the roles and parts is based on the draft shown on NB99, with the exception of 小生 (mentioned above), and 小花面 which is "secondary 'painted face' on NB99 and becomes "second 'painted face' in the published translation. (P III, 58, 120)

2.3.4 Players: Charmante 齡官 (Mon 16 Apr 1973) (NB105)

Hawkes notes his thinking on his choice of a French name for 「齡官」 as follows:

Fig. 2-157: NB105

椿齡 is presumably 齡官's full name (名字?)
'Charmante' is therefore, strictly speaking, a
'mistranslation' (「椿齡」: 祝人壽之詞 KYT);
but (a) 'Vivace' is sure to confuse the knowledgeable
reader that you don't understand French (soubrittes
are thought of as vivacious rather than long-lived) and
(b) 'Charmante' is at once interpretable as French and
unintelligible to the monophone English reader. Better keep
Charmante. Seems a pity to give up the identity
in the shop, hardly when it's carefully concealed in
the text. — Perhaps like our name he is English
Rhop. hardly.

椿齡 is presumably 齡官's full 名 (or 字!) 'Charmante' is therefore, "strictly speaking, a 'mistranslation', (「椿齡」: 祝人壽考之辭 KYTT); but (a) 'Vivace' is sure to convince the knowledgeable reader that you don't understand French (Soubrettes are thought of as vivacious rather than longeval) and (b) 'Charmante' is at once identifiable as French and understandable to the monophone English reader. Better keep Charmante.

Seems a pity to give away her identity in the chap. heading when it's carefully concealed in the text. -- Perhaps better not name her in English chap. heading.

Hawkes hesitates about using 'Charmante' for 齡官, remarking on the basis of KYTT that this is "strictly speaking, a 'mistranslation' "

The third volume of *Guoyu cidian* 國語辭典 (KYTT) ¹⁰⁹ shows the meaning of 椿齡 as follows:

Fig. 2-158: *Guoyu cidian* 國語辭典. Taipei: Shangwu, 1966, p.2941. ¹⁰⁹

<p>《XELI ㄅㄨㄣˊ 國語辭典 GWOYEU TSYRDEAN</p> <p>第三冊</p> <p>＜TSEI ㄅㄨˊ＞</p> <p>2029-3346</p> <p>中國大辭典編纂處編</p> <p>商務印書館印行</p>	<p>春日之雨。 春雲怨 ㄅㄨㄣˊ ㄩㄣˊ ㄩㄢˊ Chuenyunyuann</p> <p>詞、曲牌名。 【椿】 ㄅㄨㄣˊ chuen ㄩㄢˊ ①〔植〕落葉喬木，複葉，嫩時可食，夏開白花，材堅實，可製器具，俗稱香椿。②椿為壽徵，用以稱父，參看椿庭、椿萱條。 椿庭 ㄅㄨㄣˊ ㄊㄧㄥˊ chuentyng 莊子：「上古有大椿者，以八千歲為春，八千歲為秋」，今稱父曰椿庭本此。 椿齡 ㄅㄨㄣˊ ㄌㄩㄥˊ chuenling 祝人壽考之辭。 椿蔭蔭 ㄅㄨㄣˊ ㄩㄢˊ ㄩㄢˊ chuengux 俗稱椿樹之幼莢。</p>
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Still, Hawkes prefers 'Charmante' based on the following reasoning:

“but (a) 'Vivace' is sure to convince the knowledgeable reader that you don't understand French (Soubrettes are thought of as vivacious rather than longeval) and (b) 'Charmante' is at once identifiable as French and understandable to the monophone English reader. Better keep Charmante.”

Hawkes comments that 'Vivace' does actually mean long-lasting. If Hawkes had used 'Vivace' for a soubrette, who is typically thought of as vivacious, he would have been suspected of taking 'Vivace' as meaning vivacious.

Regarding the chapter heading of Chapter 30, 椿齡畫薔癡及局外, Hawkes notices that it refers to someone named 椿齡 drawing the word 薔 'qiang'. However, this name does not occur in the text of the chapter. Instead, the actor 齡官 is the one who draws the word 薔 'qiang', as shown in Remin (R I, 30, 365). So, Hawkes infers 椿齡 to be the full name of 齡官, as noted on NB105.

As this full name 椿齡 never appears in the text, Hawkes decides not to use 椿齡 in the chapter heading in the English version, but to employ Charmante 齡官 in both chapter heading and text for consistency, with his reason as follows:

“Seems a pity to give away her identity in the chap. heading when it's carefully concealed in the text. -- Perhaps better not name her in English chap. heading.”

Therefore, Hawkes renders the chapter heading of Chapter 30 adopting 齡官 rather than 椿齡 as follows:

「椿齡畫薔癡及局外」 (R I, 30, 358)

“Charmante scratches a 'qiang' and mystifies a beholder” (P II, 30, 93)

2.3.5 Players: number (Tue 2nd Nov 1976) (NB203)

In Chapter 58, following the news that The Dowager Consort of the late Emperor has passed away, a special decree is issued banning people of high standing from putting on musical performances for one year.

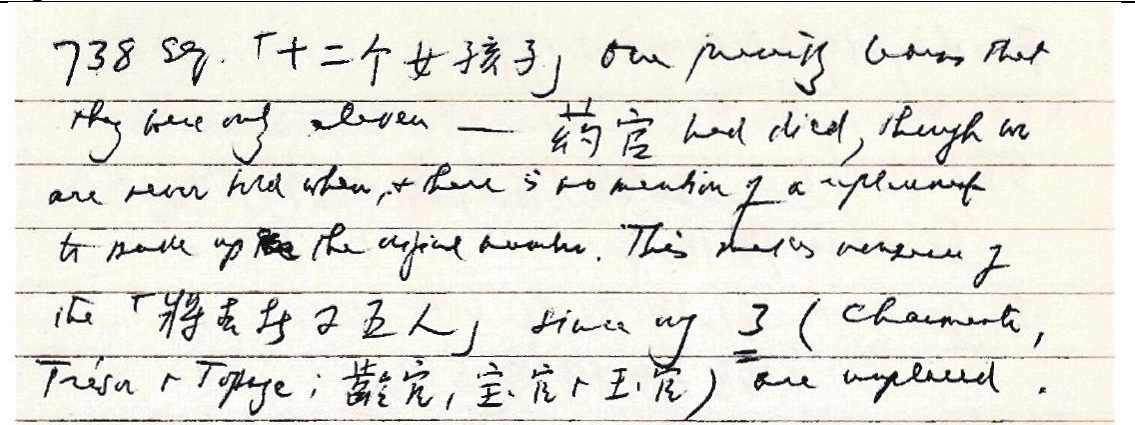
Consequently, the Jia Family, like all the great families who keep players in their household, is planning to lay them off.

Following their ancestors' example, the Jia family plans to give each of the players a little money and let them go. But they are not forcing anyone to go. The Jia Family will give them work and arrange for them to marry someone in the household when they come of age. After interviewing each of them, they have found that almost none of them are willing to leave.

As shown in the table re the list of 12 players in Pear Tree Court (Section 2.3.2), Hawkes notices that one of them, 藥官 Pivoine, has died earlier, and 3 of the remaining 11 players, viz. Charmante, Trésor, and Topaze, have not been placed.

NB203 shows how Hawkes works out how many of the original 12 players in the troupe in Pear Tree Court remain in the household:

Fig. 2-159: NB203



738 sq. 「十二个女孩子」 one previously learns that there were only eleven -- 藥官 had died, though we were never told when, and there is no mention of a replacement to make up the original number.

This makes nonsense of the 「將去者四五人」 since only 3 (Charmante, Trésor & Topaze: 齡官、宝官 and 玉官) are unplaced.

Consequently, Hawkes edits the text by having the 「將去者四五人」 (literally, 4 or 5 leaving) in the original Chinese text replaced with “The three who were leaving” in the English translation.

(R II, 58, 739) (P III, 58, 120)

2.3.6 Incorporated Footnote explained: Jia Cong 賈琮 (Tue 30 Nov 1971) (NB40)

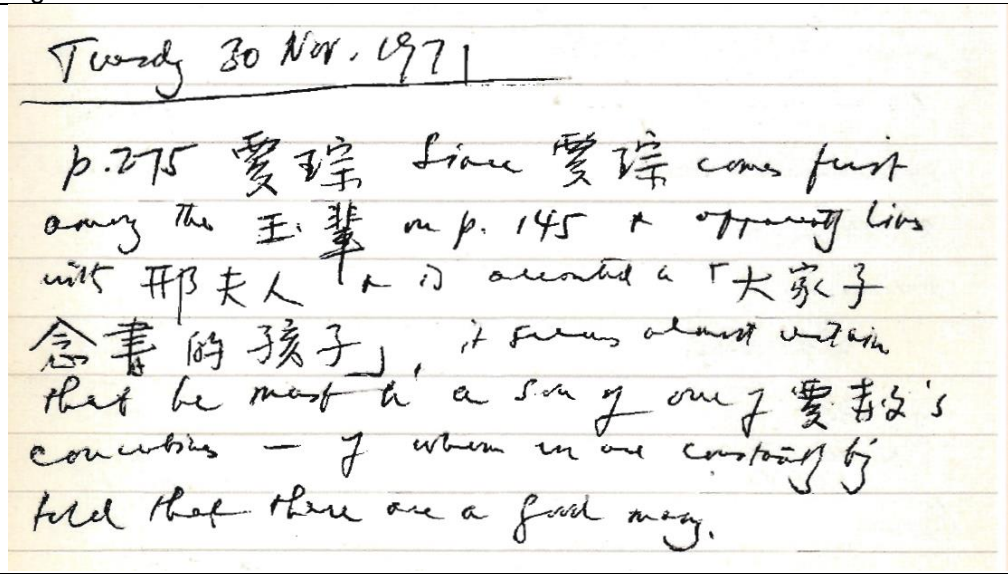
In Chapter 24, Jia She has fallen ill, Grandmother Jia asks Bao-yu to visit his Uncle She and see how he is.

After Bao-yu visits Jia She, Lady Xing (Jia She's wife) invites Bao-yu to have tea in the reception room.

While they are having tea, little Jia Cong 賈琮 (the son of a concubine) comes to greet his Cousin Bao. Lady Xing sees Jia Cong in his ragged clothes and scolds him.

In his attempt to identify Jia Cong, Hawkes remarks on NB40 as follows:

Fig. 2-160: NB40

	
<p>p.275 賈琮</p> <p>Since 賈琮 comes first among the 玉輩 on p.145 & apparently lives with 邢夫人 & is accounted a 「大家子念書的孩子」, it seems almost certain that he must be a son of one of 賈赦's concubines – of whom we are constantly being told that there are a good many.</p>	

In his attempt to identify Jia Cong 賈琮, Hawkes finds a reference from Chapter 13. This describes the scene in which members of the Jia family, in the order of rank, come to Cousin

Zhen's house to give their condolences on the death of Qin-shi, who is the wife of Jia Rong and daughter-in-law of Jia Zhen of the Ning-guo Household.

As illustrated in my table below, Jia Cong 賈琮 comes first among those from the 'yu' generation on p.145 of Renmin : (R I, 13, 145)

From the 'wen' generation 文字輩	賈敕，賈效，賈敦，賈赦，賈政
From the 'yu' generation 玉字輩	賈琮，賈璠，賈珩，賈珖，賈琛，賈琮，賈璘
From the 'cao' generation 草字輩	賈薺，賈菖，賈菱，賈芸，賈芹，賈蓁，賈萍，賈藻，賈蘅，賈芬，賈芳，賈藍，賈菌，賈芝

As shown on NB40, Hawkes infers that Jia Cong 賈琮 is the son of Jia She, with his rationale as follows:

1. "Jia Cong comes first among the 玉輩" (yu generation as illustrated above)
2. "apparently lives with 邢夫人" (Lady Xing, Jia She's wife)
3. "is accounted a 大家子念書的孩子" ("an educated little boy from a good family")

(R I, 24, 275) (P I, 24, 471)

Based on the above, Hawkes as always out of consideration for his readers, adds an incorporated footnote to identify Jia Cong as "the son of one of Jia She's concubines",

(P I, 24, 471)

He also adds as an aside in his notes: "of whom we are constantly being told that there are a good many." (NB40)

2.3.7 Incorporated Footnote 2: Godmother 寄名的乾娘 (Sun 9 Jan 1972) (NB45)

In Chapter 25, Mother Ma comes to rescue Bao-yu who has been injured by Jia Huan, the son of Jia Zheng's concubine, and thus, half-brother of Bao-yu (son of Jia Zheng's wife).

Jia Huan is writing by the light of a candle on Lady Wang's kang when Bao-yu comes back from the birthday party of Wang Zi-teng's wife. Lady Wang sees that Bao-yu has been drinking, and asks him to take a rest for a while. She makes him lie down next to her.

Lady Wang asks Sunset to massage Bao-yu while he is sleeping. Bao-yu starts to joke with Sunset and pulls her hand.

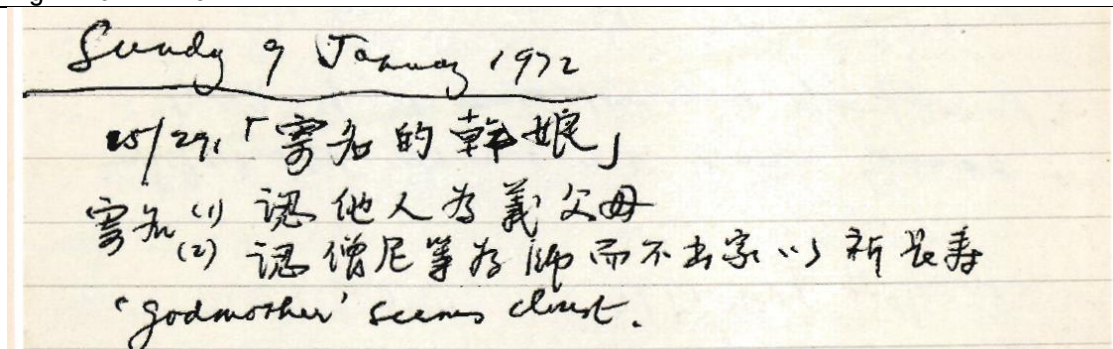
Jia Huan is always jealous of Bao-yu. When Jia Huan sees Bao-yu flirting with “his” Sunset who, unlike the other maids, always likes him, this is just too much for him, and he simply has to have revenge.

He pushes the candle with molten wax straight on to Bao-yu’s face. Bao-yu, whose face is now covered all over in wax, cries out loud.

When Mother Ma 寄名的乾娘 comes, she makes a few gestures over Bao-yu’s face with her hands, mumbling some strange syllables, assuring them that this will ensure his recovery. She advises Grandmother Jia to make offerings to the Bodhisattva of Universal Light living in the Paradise of the West, as he will protect her off-spring from all evil or darkness.

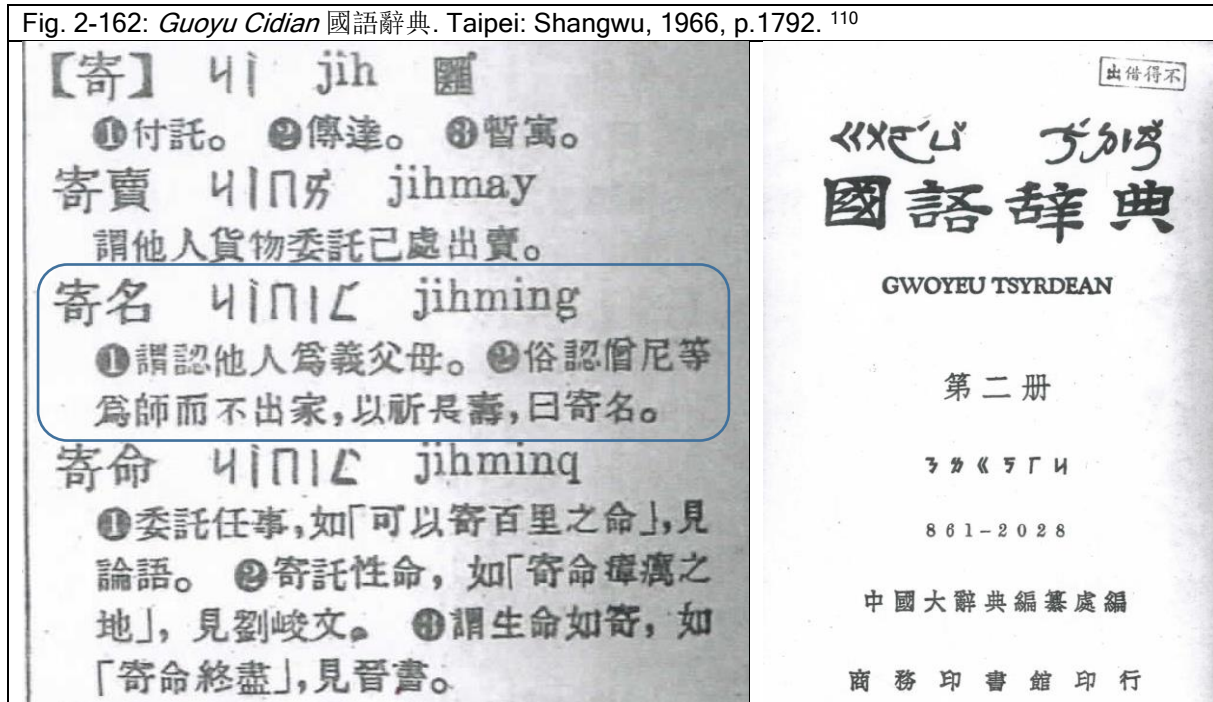
(R I, 25, 291)

寄名的乾娘 is an expression describing Mother Ma. Hawkes writes the following on 寄名 and reckons that “ ‘godmother’ seems closest” as the translation : (NB45)

<p>Fig. 2-161: NB45</p> 	<p>25/291 「寄名的乾娘」</p> <p>寄名 (1) 認他人為義父母</p> <p>(2) 認僧尼等為師而不出家以祈長壽</p> <p>‘godmother’ seems closest.</p>
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Though Hawkes does not indicate the reference source in the *Notebooks*, it may have been his usual *Guoyu Cidian* (KYTT)¹¹⁰. This, in volume 2, gives the meaning for 寄名 as recorded by Hawkes on NB45:

Fig. 2-162: *Guoyu Cidian* 國語辭典. Taipei: Shangwu, 1966, p.1792. ¹¹⁰



1. 「認他人為義父母」

(meaning: to consider someone as a godfather or godmother)

2. 「認僧尼等為師而不出家以祈長壽」

(meaning: to have a monk or a nun as a guardian for the pursuit of longevity without entering a religious order)

Perhaps the first of these meanings is applicable to Mother Ma.

Consequently, Hawkes renders Mother Ma as “Bao-yu’s godmother” and provides an incorporated footnote to explain the special relationship between Bao-yu and Mother Ma as based on the traditional custom, as follows:

「過了一日，有寶玉寄名的乾娘馬道婆到府裏來，見了寶玉，唬了一大跳。」

(R I, 25, 291)

“Another day went by, and Bao-yu’s godmother, old Mother Ma, called round. Mother Ma was a Wise Woman. Her special relationship with Bao-yu had been arranged in his infancy to ensure him the protection of her powers. She was shocked by her godson’s appearance ...”

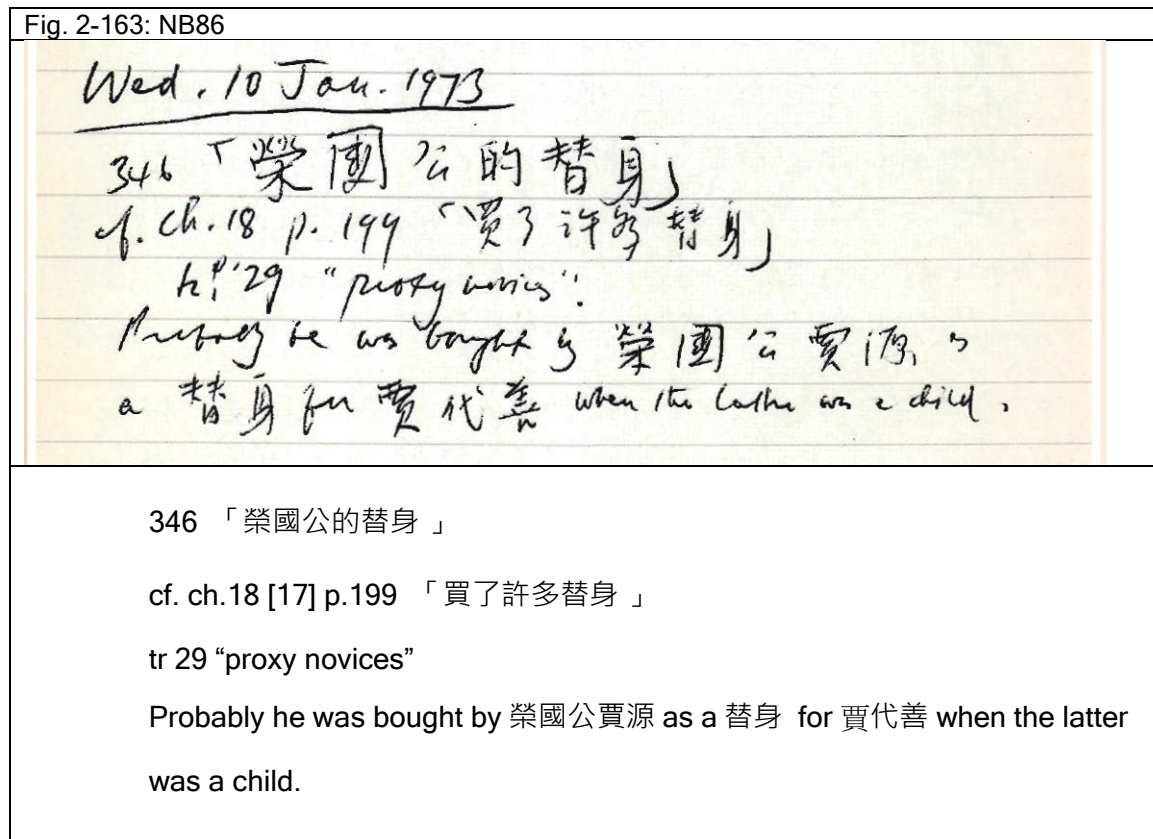
(P I, 25, 493)

2.3.8 Incorporated Footnote 3: Proxy novices 替身 (Wed 10 Jan 1973) (NB86)

In Chapter 29, old Abbot Zhang, the head of the Taoist temple of the Lunar Goddess, comes to welcome Grandmother Jia when the Jia family arrives there for the purification ceremonies on the first day of May.

Old Abbot Zhang is one of the Rong-guo proxy novices, 「榮國公的替身」 (R I, 29, 346). Regarding the relationship of old Abbot Zhang and the Jia family, Hawkes on NB86 refers back to the annotation in Chapter 17 (he mistakenly writes 18) on proxy novices 替身.

Fig. 2-163: NB86



Remin notes that it is ancient belief that those who are destined to come across disasters in life should dedicate their lives to religion as Buddhist monks or Taoist ascetic. So, the parents of wealthy families buy the children from the poor to be monks/Taoists on behalf of children from wealthy families. These children are called "proxy novices" 替身, as noted in the annotation in Renmin as follows:

「地主們買窮人家子女代替出家, 叫作『替身』」

(R I, 17, 199)

With reference to the above, Hawkes writes on Abbot Zhang as follows: (NB86)

“Probably he was bought by 榮國公賈源 as a 替身 for 賈代善 when the latter was a child.”

So, probably Abbot Zhang was bought by Jia Yuan, Duke of Rong-guo House, 榮國公賈源 as a 替身 for his son, Jia Dai-shan 賈代善, the late husband of Grandmother Jia, when Jia Dai-shan was young.

In order to give readers an idea of Old Abbot Zhang’s relationship to the Jia family, Hawkes provides an incorporated footnote in the translation as follows:

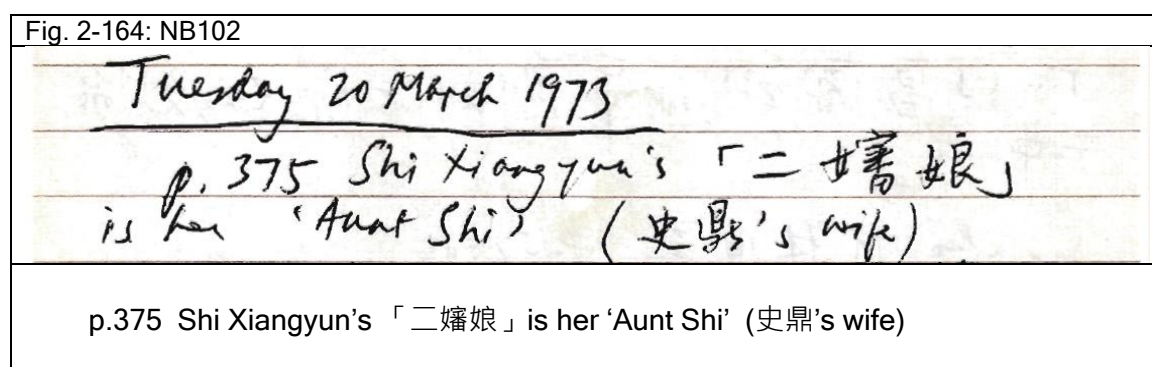
“Abbot Zhang had started life a poor boy and entered the Taoist church as ‘proxy novice’ of Grandmother Jia’s late husband,” (P II, 29, 75)

2.3.9 Family Relations: My Aunt Shi 二孀娘 (Tue 20 Mar 1973) (NB102)

In Chapter 31, Shi Xiang-yun comes to visit Grandmother Jia. As it is a hot day, Grandmother Jia suggests that Xiang-yun should take off some of her clothes.

Xiang-yun quickly gets up and removes one or two garments, remarking that it’s her 二孀娘 who forces her to put on so many clothes. (R II, 31, 375)

Regarding the expression 二孀娘, Hawkes writes on NB102 as follows:



Hawkes comments that 二孀娘 is the wife of Xiang-yun’s uncle. He wants his reader to be clear about family relations. Xiang-yun’s parents died when Xiang-yun was very young. Thereafter, Xiang-yun lives with 史鼎, her paternal uncle.

So, Hawkes renders the expression as follows:

「都是二孀娘叫穿的，誰愿意穿這些！」

(R II, 31, 375)

“‘It’s my Aunt Shi who makes me wear it all’, said Xiang-yun. ‘You wouldn’t catch me wearing this stuff if I didn’t have to.’”

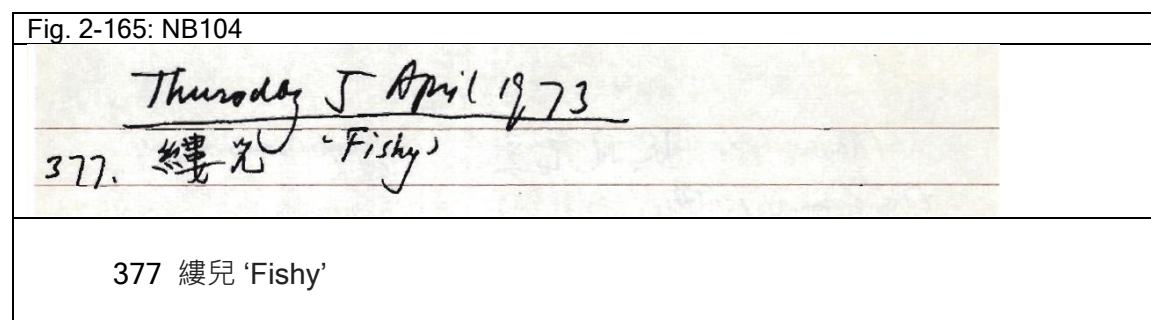
(P II, 31, 118)

2.3.10 Nickname: Fishy 縷兒 (Thur 5 Apr 1973) (NB104)

In Chapter 31, after Xiang-yun finishes having tea with her Grandmother, Grandmother Jia asks her to go and have fun with her cousins. Xiang-yun sends all her maids away, except Fishy 縷兒.

(R II, 31, 377)

Hawkes writes on NB104 the translation of 縷兒:



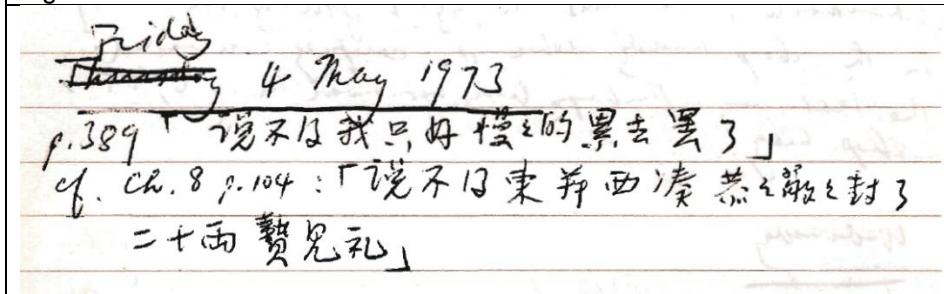
Xiang-yun’s maid, Fishy, has the formal name 翠縷 which Hawkes renders as Kingfisher. She is given the nickname 縷兒 by Xiang-yun, combining one character of her name 縷 with 兒, the diminute suffix implying intimacy and affection. Fishy, as a nickname, is a correspondingly informal English term extracted from “Kingfisher”.

(P II, 31, 121)

2.3.11 Consistency: There’s nothing for it 說不得 (Fri 4 May 1973) (NB106)

The meticulous Hawkes spots the same expression 說不得 in both Chapter 8 and Chapter 32, as noted on NB106:

Fig. 2-166: NB106

	
<p>p.389 「說不得我只好慢慢的累去罷了」</p> <p>cf. Ch. 8 p.104: 「說不得東拼西湊, 恭恭敬敬封了二十四兩贄見礼」</p>	

Hawkes is able to connect expressions which appear in widely distant passages. He translates the expression in both chapters with consistency:

Chapter 8

Qin Zhong's father had always hoped to get Qin Zhong into the Jia clan school. After Qin Zhong's lucky meeting with Bao-yu, Qin Zhong's father is delighted at the prospect of his son becoming Bao-yu's fellow student. However, with his little salary, Qin Zhong's father can hardly afford the expenses involved in Qin Zhong's education in the Jia clan school.

As this is crucial to the future of his son, there was no other option than borrowing up to the hilt 「說不得東拼西湊」 in order to get the twenty-four taels of silver and bring Qin Zhong to pay his respects to Jia Dai-ru, the master in charge of the Jia clan school.

Hawkes renders the expression 說不得 as follows:

「說不得東拼西湊, 恭恭敬敬封了二十四兩贄見禮, 帶了秦鍾到代儒家來拜見」

(R I, 8, 104)

"there was nothing for it but to strain his credit to the utmost. By borrowing a bit here and a bit there he was able to get together a sum of twenty-four taels of silver which he made up into a packet and laid reverently before Jia Dai-ru when he took Qin Zhong to the old teacher's house to make his kotow." (P I, 8, 200)

Chapter 32

Aroma asks Xiang-yun to help her with the sewing since Bao-yu doesn't like to have his sewing done by the seamstresses outside. Aroma cannot manage it by herself.

When Bao-chai and Aroma are alone together, Bao-chai tells Aroma that Xiang-yun has no control over her life at home, based on what she heard from Xiang-yun.

As the Shi family are unwilling to spend money to hire someone to do the sewing work, Xiang-yun has to do this together with other women of the household, which is the reason why Xiang-yun always tells Bao-chai how exhausted she becomes at home.

Aroma now realizes how difficult things are for Xiang-yun.

Despite the fact that there is a lot of sewing work for Aroma to do, Aroma says to Bao-chai that 「說不得我只好慢慢的累去罷了」, she is afraid she just has to slowly manage it all.

Hawkes translates 「說不得」 as follows:

「說不得我只好慢慢的累去罷了。」 (R II, 32, 389)

"I'm afraid there's nothing for it. I shall just have to work through it all gradually on my own." (P II, 32, 137)

Notes

1. Hackmack, Adolf. *Chinese Carpets and Rugs*. New York: Dover Publications, 1973. (a republication of the 1924 English translation by the Librairie Française, Tientsin (China), p. 24.

The author of the book was a dealer in Chinese rugs in Tientsin. He had access to a great variety of sources, covering private collections and the vast collections at the Imperial Palace in Beijing. The book describes the historical development of carpet weaving, the influence on carpet design of Buddhism, Taoism and other aspects of Chinese tradition. There is a chapter specifically on the colours of Chinese carpets. In the book, there are around 60 illustrations. Plate XIII, Fig 27 is reproduced in the *Notebooks*, with the caption 筆錠如意.

2. March, Benjamin. *Some Technical Terms of Chinese Painting*. Baltimore: Waverly Press, Inc., 1935, p.4.

The book provides description of a listing of technical terms on Chinese painting. The author, March, compiled the list in Beijing during the summer of 1931, when he was doing research on Chinese painting which was pursued with the assistance of American Council of Learned Societies.

3. Hawley, Willis M. *Chinese Folk Designs: A Collection of 300 Cut-paper Designs Used for Embroidery Together with 160 Chinese Art Symbols And Their Meanings*. New York: Dover Publications, 1971, c1949. (unpaginated)

The book features 300 selections of unique cut-paper designs on traditional symbols of Chinese folklore for embroidery. The designs covered include phoenix, flower, landscapes, and immortals, etc. There is a supplementary chapter explaining 160 common symbols used in Chinese art. It describes the pattern 筆錠如意 “Bi ding ru-yi” on item 152 of the book.

4. Vuilleumier, Bernard. *Symbolism of Chinese Imperial Ritual Robes: The Art of Silk Weaving in China*. London: The China Institute, 1939, p.25.

This work was produced in connection with an exhibition of the Vuilleumier Collection at the Musee des Gobelins in Paris in April to May 1936, with 96 exhibits of Chinese court robes and accessories on display. It covers the Chinese textile industry, tapestry technique, and provides illustrations of the decorative patterns in Chinese culture and their symbolic meaning.

5. Cammann, Schuyler. *China's Dragon Robes*. Chicago: Art Media Resources, 2001. (a republication of the 1952 first edition by Ronald Press Company) , pp.102-106, 214-216.

This thoroughly documented work is a survey of the evolution of dragon robes in China. The book illustrates the decorative patterns in the robes, including auspicious symbols and rebuses.

It provides useful reference for historians, museum curators, and textile experts, and is particularly valuable for the section interpreting the symbolism of the design elements. It also covers the manufacturing process, including weaving and dyeing. The Appendices give details of the different types of robes and the laws governing their use. There is also a glossary of oriental terms, covering symbols and decorative motifs, costume accessories, etc., and a brief bibliography of major oriental sources.

Schuyler V.R. (Van Rensselaer) Cammann (1912-1991), known to his friends as Ki, was born in New York City. He received a BA from Yale University, an MA from Harvard Graduate School and a PhD from Johns Hopkins University. He first went to China in 1935, following his graduation from Yale. After teaching English in Changsha for 2 years through the Yale-in-China programme, he was engaged in the cataloguing of the Tibetan collection in the Western China Union University Museum in Chengdu, and this led to a lifelong interest in Tibetan art. He travelled across Burma, Western China, Tibet, and North India. He was also involved in the cataloguing of the Tibetan collections of the British Museum, Musée de l'Homme in Paris, the National Museum of Denmark, and the Field Museum in Chicago.

Cammann began teaching in the University of Pennsylvania's Department of Oriental Studies in 1948, remaining there until he retired in 1982. He also served as the Associate Curator of the East Asian Collections for the University Museum (1948-1955).

Cammann worked as a writer, lecturer, and consultant in US and Europe, as well as conducting archaeological excavation and becoming a television personality, as a presenter of a series of forty-four programmes on Southeast Asia. The wide range of his scholarship embraces almost every aspect of Chinese symbolism, as well as many other topics in Asian arts.

The University of Pennsylvania provides access to 13 linear feet of archival materials on Cammann:

http://dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/ead/ead.html?id=EAD_upenn_museum_PUMu1146

(Further details at Steinhardt, Nancy Shatzman "Schuyler Van Rensselaer Cammann (1912-1991)". *Archives of Asian Art*, vol. 45 (1992), pp. 96-98.

6. Priest, Alan and Pauline Simmons. *Chinese Textiles: An Introduction to the Study of Their History, Sources, Technique, Symbolism, And Use*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1934, p.74.

The book is a catalogue of an exhibition held from 8 Dec 1931 to 31 Jan 1932 at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Born in Massachusetts, Alan Priest (1898-1969) worked from 1928 to 1953 as a curator of Far Eastern Art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art before retiring to Kyoto in Japan. After graduating from Harvard at 1920, Priest worked in the university before embarking on the Fogg Museum Expedition in 1924 to North China and Tun Huang. He then travelled to Chinese Turkestan and Siberia, and worked in Peking in 1925 as a Carnegie Fellow of Harvard University. He continued his research on the temples and palaces of Beijing in 1926, on a Sachs Fellowship from Harvard.

As a curator, Priest was instrumental in building up the Far Eastern collections of the Museum. He contributed some items from his personal collections and was recognized a benefactor of the museum in 1959.

Priest, an enthusiast for Chinese culture, actually became a Buddhist abbot while working in the country and had his own gravestone carved in traditional style. He was also greatly interested in Japanese and Korean art, helping to organize major exhibitions of these in the 1950s. Known for his scholarship and sophistication, Priest was also a witty, humorous story teller, and a keen ornithologist.

7. Chavannes, Édouard. *De l'expression des vœux dans l'art populaire chinois*. Paris: Bossard, 1922, pp. 5-6.

This French work provides a well-illustrated description of the topic. It was first published in 1901 as an article entitled “De l’expression des vœux dans l’art populaire Chinoise” in *Journal Asiatique* 9^{se}ire vol. 18 (1901), which was later published as a small pamphlet in 1922.

It was later translated into English under the title “*The Five Happinesses: symbolism in Chinese popular art*” by Elaine Spaulding Atwood. New York: Weatherhill, 1973. As Volume 1 of *Stone* was published in 1973, Hawkes probably consulted the original French edition rather than its English translation.

The author, Édouard Chavannes (1865- 1918), was a distinguished French Sinologist. He was in China for most of the period from 1889 to 1893. He travelled widely in the hinterland and journeyed across Siberia to northeastern China, searching for information on Chinese religion and culture. He deciphered and translated old texts discovered in Dun-Huang and elsewhere. His major achievement was *Les Mémoires historiques de Se-Ma Ts’ien*. Traduits et annotés par Édouard Chavannes. Publication encouragée par la Société asiatique. Paris, E.Leroux, 1895-1905. This five-volume French work is a complete translation of the *Shiji* 史記 by Sima Qian 司馬遷 (145 - 86 BC), a history of China from earliest times to about 100 BC. Famous Sinologists whom Chavannes taught were Bernard Karlgren, Henri Maspero, and Paul Pelliot, etc.

8. Chavannes, Édouard. *The Five Happinesses: Symbolism in Chinese Popular Art*. Translated by Elaine Spaulding Atwood. New York: Weatherhill, 1973, p.18-9.

9. Zheng Dekun 鄭德坤 (1908-2001) was a Chinese archaeologist, born in Xiamen. He was educated at Yenching University (1926-31) and Harvard (1938-41). Back in China, he took up university teaching, and was curator of the West China University Museum at Chengdu in Sichuan. In 1947-8, he spent a year in UK, teaching at the Universities in London, Oxford, and Cambridge, and then worked in Hong Kong (1948-50). In 1951, he returned to Cambridge where he stayed for 23 years. From 1951-66, he became lecturer in Far Eastern Art and Archaeology, during which time he built up the Mu-fei Library. He was Reader in Chinese Archaeology in 1966-74. Many curators now holding important positions in museums of Far Eastern art are his former students.

In 1974, Zheng moved to the Chinese University of Hong Kong as Visiting Professor of Fine Arts, and then Dean of Arts, and Pro-Vice Chancellor. He later was appointed Director of the Institute of Chinese Studies. In 1978, he was the founder and Director of the University’s Centre for Chinese Archaeology and Art. He retired from the Centre in 1979.

His numerous publications on Chinese archaeology include over 100 titles. His 3-volume work, *Archaeology in China*, published in 1966 in Cambridge, is one of the leading works on the subject, and its Japanese translation has become a required reading for relevant university courses in Japan.

10. Wang Duan 王端. *Zhongguo tu’an ji* 中國圖案集. Shanghai: Silian, 1954, pp.217-8.

This pictorial book provides illustrations of traditional Chinese decorative and auspicious patterns, dating back from 2200 BC to Qing Dynasty. It covers the bronze wares from the Shang and Zhou Dynasties, Song architecture, and Qing Dynasty textiles, illustrating the historical development of Chinese pattern designs.

11. Gugong bowuyuan 故宮博物院. *Gugong bowuyuan cang Qingdai zhixiu tuanhua tu'an* 故宮博物院藏清代織繡團花圖案. Beijing: Wenwu, 1959, (picture No. 59).

This pictorial book is a compilation by the Palace Museum, and includes 86 items of clothing and embroidery from the Qing Dynasty, which illustrate the complex Chinese symbolic designs and their associated auspicious expressions. For each picture, the book provides the details of the expressions depicted, including object, size and date.

12. Nozaki, Nobuchika 野崎誠近. *Kisshō zuan kaidai* 吉祥圖案解題. Tianjin: Zhongguo tuchan, 1928, pp.543-5.

This elaborate, lavishly illustrated pictorial book provides clear illustration of 183 symbolic Chinese designs with their associated auspicious expressions, deciphering the meaning of each expression with reference to Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism, and giving quotations from *I Ching* 易經, *Zhuang-zi* 莊子, *Shi Jing* 詩經, *Chuci* 楚辭, etc. The author was a Japanese who lived in China for over 20 years, running an antique shop in Tianjin 天津. I was able to consult this rare work from a microfiche in the University of Hong Kong Libraries.

13. Koehn, Alfred. *Chinese Flower Symbolism*. Tokyo: Lotus Court, 1954, p.2.

The book illustrates the symbolic use of flowers and plants in Chinese culture. It presents the elegant paper cuttings of the floral images and explains the significance of the auspicious objects and their associated sayings. The book also provides translation of relevant Chinese poems.

14. Lin Hanjie 林漢傑. *Minjian lanyin huabu tu'an* 民間藍印花布圖案. Beijing: Renmin meishu, 1954, pp.17-8, 27, 31, 33 & 67.

This pictorial book collects 78 beautifully illustrated images of Chinese indigo-dyed cloth, 藍印花布 (literally, blue floral print cloth) from Zhejiang 浙江 and Jiangsu 江蘇, illustrating auspicious sayings. Among the items included, are floral clothes, pillow covers, face towels, handkerchiefs, and aprons, etc. The making of indigo textiles is a traditional craft in China with a history of over a thousand years.

15. The author is indebted to Professor Minford for providing the relevant details in this Section and the Hawkes' review of the Bonsall translation housed in Bristol University Library, Special Collections.

Cao Xueqin 曹雪芹 and Gao E 高鶚. *Red Chamber Dream*. Translated by Bramwell Seaton Bonsall. University of Hong Kong Libraries.
(Online at <http://hdl.handle.net/10722/10502> accessed 8 March 2019)

The Rev. Bramwell Seaton Bonsall (1886-1968) worked as a missionary in China from 1911 to 1926. After returning to England, he obtained a Doctorate from the School of Oriental and African Studies for his translation of *Zhan Guo Ce* 戰國策. In his retirement, he produced the first complete translation of *HLM* by a westerner working unaided. Although this was never published, the typescript is available in the University of Hong Kong Libraries (where his son Jeffrey Bonsall once worked as the Deputy Librarian) and can be accessed online. Because the translation was made

without access to libraries or discussion with colleagues, it is not of very high quality.

16. Zhou Muwang pian 周穆王篇 In Yang Bojun 楊伯峻. *Liezi jishi* 列子集釋. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1979, (chapter 3, pp. 107-108).

A book by 列子, a philosopher in the Warring States 戰國時代 Zhanguo shidai, is supposed to have been born around 450 B.C. The Chapter 周穆王 of 列子 illustrates the dream-like nature of reality.

17. Mary Tregear (1924-2010), was a specialist in Chinese art. She was born in Wuchang in central China to parents working there, and the family returned to England when she was three. After graduating from West of England College of Art, she went back to China and taught art in Wuhan from 1947 to 1950.

In 1956, when she was the curator of the Fung Ping Shan Museum in the University of Hong Kong, she was able to see many museums and private collections in Japan and Taiwan. Her experience made her a highly gifted interpreter of Chinese culture.

For 30 years from 1961, she worked in the Ashmolean Museum (Oxford). She was a pioneer in research on early ceramics, often in conjunction with Shanghai colleagues. She was also responsible for the acquisition of bronzes, sculpture and fine porcelains. Her deep knowledge of the subject enabled her to build up an impressive collection of modern Chinese painting. Being a Fellow of St. Cross College, she also worked as a tutor, lecturer, and supervisor for the Faculty of Oriental Studies.

She was able to travel extensively in China and Africa, despite her disability from contracting polio as a young child.

Her many publications include the popular volume on China in Thames and Hudson's "World of Art" series as well as many articles and conference papers.

18. Song Yingxing 宋應星. *Tiangong kaiwu jiaozhu ji yanjiu* 天工開物校注及研究 annotated by Pan Jixing 潘吉星. Chengdu : Ba shu shu she, 1989. English translation entitled *Chinese technology in the seventeenth century* 天工開物. Translated from the Chinese and annotated by E-tu Zen Sun and Shiou-Chuan Sun. New York: Dover Publications, 1997 (a republication of the 1966 edition by The Pennsylvania State University Press).

This well-illustrated encyclopedic work on indigenous Chinese technology was written in the late Ming Dynasty. The author, Song Yingxing 宋應星 (1587-1666?), was himself a proficient scientist. The title, 天工開物, means, literally, useful products of the skills of men based on the works of nature. Although not the oldest Chinese work on the subject, this book was the most comprehensive at that time. It covers agriculture, various branches of manufacturing, mining and mineralogy, etc.

19. Ling Xuan 伶玄. *Zhao Feiyan waizhuan* 趙飛燕外傳. In *Qiang guai lu, Zhao Feiyan waizhuan, Feiyan yishi, Han zashi mi xin, Sui wei lu* 窮怪錄 趙飛燕外傳 飛燕遺事 漢雜事祕辛 隋遺錄 (Quan yi ce 全一冊) (*Cong shu ji cheng chu bian* 叢書集成初編: 2732). Beijing: Zhonghua, 1991. p.4.

20. Read, Bernard Emms. *Chinese Medicinal Plants from the Pen Ts'ao Kang Mu. A.D. 1596: Botanical, Chemical And Pharmacological Reference List.* Peiping: Peking

Natural History Bulletin, 1936. (a 1994 photocopy from UMI Books on Demand, Ann Arbor, Michigan)

This reference work provides a thorough study of 898 vegetable drugs in *Bencao Guanmu* 本草綱目 (see below).

The author, Dr. Bernard Emms Read (1887 - 1949), was an English pharmacologist and a well-known scholar who devoted all his life to research on Chinese medicine. Following his basic pharmaceutical training in the London College of Pharmacy, he spent most of his life in China, teaching and conducting research at the old Peking Union Medical College, before moving to the Lester Institute in Shanghai in 1932, also pursuing his MSc and PhD studies in the United States where he attended John Hopkins, Chicago, Harvard, and Yale Universities. During the 40 years Dr Read spent in China, he devoted himself to teaching and research on the identification of Chinese drugs and, and produced significant publications on materia medica, including the well-known translation of six parts of *Bencao gangmu* 本草綱目.

A bibliography of Dr. Bernard Emms Read's long list of publications can be found in the bibliography of various volumes of Joseph Needham and Lu Gwei-djen 魯桂珍, *Science and Civilization in China* (Cambridge University Press), e.g. Vol. 5, Part 5, p.481-2. Lu Gwei-djen was a student of Read when she was studying in Peking Union Medical College 北平協和醫院, and he was Dean of the Faculty.

21. Li Shizhen 李時珍. *Baihua quanyi Bencao gangmu* 白話全譯本草綱目. Xi'an: Shijie tushu, 1998. English translation entitled *Compendium of Materia Medica* translated and annotated by Luo Xiwen 羅希文. Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 2003.

Compendium of Materia Medica 本草綱目 is, literally, an outline and details of roots and plants. This 52- volume classical treatise on medicine is the most comprehensive medical text in the history of Chinese medicine, compiled in the Ming Dynasty by Li Shizhen 李時珍 (1518-1593), and first published in 1593. Highly regarded as the most authoritative account of Chinese medicine, it synthesized 932 earlier works and provided a critique of them, including detailed descriptions of over 1100 species and their use for the treatment of diseases.

22. Zhou Ruchang 周汝昌. *Honglouloumeng xin zheng* 紅樓夢新證. Shanghai: Tang di, 1953, p.179. (CASGLIAD-1168: 1964 ed.) (CASGLIAD-1169/1-2: 1976 ed.)

The book was first published in 1953. Its later editions in 1976 and 1998 were much expanded. The author provides a very detailed study of the historical background of *HLM* and the biography of the author, Cao Xue-qin, based on a large range of sources. It provides an appendix on the editions of *HLM*.

23. Yisu 一粟, ed. *Honglouloumeng shulu* 紅樓夢書錄. Shanghai: Gudian wenxue, 1958, pp.67-8. (CASGLIAD-1177: 1958 ed.)

This is a bibliography of around 900 items of works concerning *Honglouloumeng* up to October 1954, covering various editions of *Honglouloumeng* as well as translations. The bibliography provides summaries and extracts from these works. The book provides a title index and guide to characters by strokes as an aid to use the book. The items do not cover art items such as wood blocks, wall painting. First published in 1958.

The editor, 一粟, was the pseudonym for two scholars, *Zhou Shaoliang* 周紹良 and *Zhu Naxian* 朱南銑.

24. Jia Zuzhang 賈祖璋 and Jia Zushan 賈祖珊, eds. *Zhongguo zhiwu tu jian* 中國植物圖鑑. Beijing : Zhonghua, 1958, p.186.

The book provides illustrations and descriptions of over 2,400 Chinese plants categorised into 480 classes in a volume of around 1500 pages. The entries can be searched by Chinese characters organised on the four-corner number system 四角號碼, and by the romanised form of the entries using the biological names or English names of the plant. 開明 (as noted on NB68) refers to its prewar original publisher 開明書店.

25. Culin, Stewart. "Chinese Games with Dice and Dominoes". In Report of the United States National Museum for the year ending June 30, 1893, 489-537. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1895, p.493.

Stewart Culin's book titled *Chinese Games with Dice and Dominoes* was published by the United States National Museum in 1895. This document is an extension of Culin's first publication on games, titled "*Chinese Games with Dice*" printed in 1889, a 21-page long pamphlet on the dice games of the Canton province (in China) played by Chinese workers in America.

The author, Stewart Culin (1858-1929), was Director of the University of Pennsylvania's Museum of Archaeology and Paleontology starting from 1892, then he joined the Institute of Arts and Sciences of the Brooklyn Museum in New York City as the curator of Ethnology in 1903. His profound interest in the ethnography of games led him to embark on various field trips to China, Japan, Korea and India. Through his publications on games, e.g. Hawaiian games, Philippine games, American Indian games, games of Mahjong, he illustrated that similar games appear in different cultures, connected with religious beliefs and practices. Illustrations abound in his publications, including photographs, original drawings, and diagrams of games, equipment, etc.

26. Zheng Xudan 鄭旭旦. *Huntongtian paipu* 混同天牌譜. In *Congshu jicheng xubian* 叢書集成續編 102: Zhao dai cong shu 昭代叢書. Taipei : Xin wen feng, 1989, pp.659-671.

27. Yu Yue 俞樾. *Xinding yapai shu* 新定牙牌數. In *Chunzaitang quanshu* 春在堂全書. Volume 8. Taipei: Zhongguo wenxian, 1968, pp. 5714-5726.

28. Liu, Zunlu 劉遵陸. *Yapai canchan tupu* 牙牌參禪圖譜. In *Congshu jicheng xubian* 叢書集成續編 102: Guanzidezhai congshu 觀自得齋叢書. Taipei : Xin wen feng, 1989, p.699.

29. Li Bai 李白. *Li Taibai quanji* 李太白全集. Edited by Wang Qi 王琦. Hong Kong: Zhonghua, 1972, p.489. (CASGLIAD-721: 1958 ed.)

Li Bai 李白 (701-762) is highly regarded as one of the two greatest Tang poets, the other being Du Fu. He is often affectionately referred to as Shixian 詩仙 - the immortal poet. There is a legend that Li Bai died when drunk and attempting to snatch the moon's reflection out of the water. He spent only 2 years (742-744) at court as a

member of the Hanlin (Forest of Writing Brushes) Academy. During his life, he moved frequently from one place to another.

1004 poems are attributed to Li Bai in the *Quan Tang Shi* 全唐詩. He was famous for his *yuefu* 樂府. His reputation among both his contemporaries and later generations was based on *yuefu* and *gexing* 歌行 old-style poems. A very good example of his *yuefu* at his most extravagant is the “Shu dao nan” 蜀道難.

The simple language and varying line length of his poems give a marked appearance of spontaneity. His work is also characterized by exaggeration and personification. His work focuses both on a desire to escape to the Taoist heaven and the pleasures of alcohol. His enthusiasm for drinking so often expressed in his work together with stories of his working best when drunk make him a stereotypical bohemian character.

30. Peng Dingqiu 彭定求. *Quan Tangshi* 全唐詩. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1960, p.1569 & 7649. (CASGLIAD-781/1-12)

This enormous, officially authorized anthology of Tang-dynasty verse is considered the most comprehensive ever compiled, including over 48,900 poems by more than 2,200 Tang authors.

The work was commissioned in April 1705 by Emperor Kangxi (r. 1662-1723) who assigned Cao Yin (1658-1712) to take charge of it. Cao Yin was the grandfather of Cao Xueqin, author of *HLM*. The powerful Cao family held important positions as officials to the Manchu emperors for three generations. Cao Yin, both a poet himself and a literary patron, led a lavish life, and entertained the emperor at his luxurious home at least four times. However, Cao Xueqin's father was dismissed by the new emperor in 1728, and their house was raided and their property confiscated. The family moved from Nanjing to Beijing where Cao Xueqin lived in great poverty.

The primary sources for the biographical notes are the *Tang Yin Tong Xian* 唐音統鑑 compiled by Hu Zhenheng 胡震亨, and the *Tangshi jishi* 唐詩紀事 by Ji Yougong 計有功.

For the poems themselves, the primary sources are the *Tang Yin Tong Xian* 唐音統鑑 and an earlier text called *Quan Tangshi* 全唐詩.

A special characteristic of this work is the order in which the author appears. The division into Early 初, Full/High 盛, Middle 中, and Late 晚 periods which had been followed by almost all Ming and Qing critics, was ignored because it had no real logical basis. Instead, authors are arranged chronologically, using, in order of preference, either the year in which they passed the civil service examination, the year they entered official service, or the year of death, or, if none of these were known, their poems were placed next to the other poets whom they knew or with whom they had similarities.

31. Wang Wei 王維. “Chici baiguan yingtao” 敕賜百官櫻桃 in *Quan Tangshi* 全唐詩. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1960, p. 1295.

Wang Wei (701-761) was one of the major Tang poets, and also a devout Buddhist, painter and musician. He is best known for his landscape poetry, and derives a sense of calm from nature. This attitude was partly based on his Buddhist conviction, and he established a monastery on his own estate. Nevertheless, he also wrote often

about events at court, and himself held high positions in government. He thus combines both a religious and secular outlook.

32. Fu Xuancong 傅璇琮, comp. *Quan Songshi* 全宋詩. Beijing: Beijing daxue, 1991-1998, p.8366.

Quan Songshi is an anthology of the poems of the Song Dynasty compiled by Beijing University, in 72 volumes and 3785 chapters, covering over 9,000 poets. The first part was published in 1986, and the series was completed in 1998.

33. Du Fu 杜甫. *Du Shaoling ji xiangzhu* 杜少陵集詳註. Edited by Qiu Zhao'ao 仇兆鰲. Hong Kong: Zhonghua, 1974, p.102. (CASGLIAD-728/1-4)

Du Fu (712-770), was highly regarded as one of the two greatest Tang poets, the other being Li Bai, his senior by 10 years. His poetry displays technical precision and the preference for contemporary style. His style is complex and he sometimes deliberately uses ambiguity for literary effect. His best work was done during the last two decades of his life, including particularly *Qiuxing bashou* 秋興八首, a famous series of 8 poems which are often translated. His poems written for his wife are also highly regarded.

His poems provide an accurate picture of contemporary problems and his own involvement in them. His acceptance of public duty and sensitivity to social and political issues resulted in being known later as a poet sage.

34. Li Bai 李白 (op. cit. note 29 above), pp.1010-1011.

35. Tang Yin 唐寅. *Tang Bohu xiansheng quanji* 唐伯虎先生全集. Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng, 1970, volume 2, p.387.

36. Tang Xianzu 湯顯祖. *Tang Xianzu quanji* 湯顯祖全集. Edited and annotated by Xu Shuofang 徐朔方. Beijing: Beijing guji, 1999, (*The Return of the Soul* 牡丹亭: Scene 10, Jingmeng 驚夢, p.2096). (*The Return of the Soul* 牡丹亭: CASGLIAD-1002: Shanghai: Gudian wenxue 1958)

Hawkes provides assistance for his readers in Appendix III of Volume 2 of *Stone* (p.594), in which he provides a brief synopsis of *The Return of the Soul* by Tang Xianzu (1550-1616), and provides a footnote to the play, which reads “a very fine description of this play can be found in Dr. H.C. Chang’s *Chinese literature: Popular Fiction and Drama*, Edinburgh 1973, pp.268-72” This is one of the rare cases in which Hawkes provides such assistance. The material wouldn’t matter much in the Appendix, but would disrupt the flow of the story if used in the main text of the story as a footnote.

37. Wang Shifu 王實甫. *Xixiangji* 西廂記. Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1978, p.39. (CASGLIAD-987A/1-2: Jiangsu Remin 1960 ed.)

Xixiangji, also known as *Western Chamber*, is one of China’s most famous plays. It was written by Wang Shi-fu 王實甫, a playwright in the Yuan dynasty and is based on a tale written by Yuan Zhen 元稹 in the Tang Dynasty, which is known as *Ying-ying Zhuan* 鶯鶯傳, or *Hui Zhenji* 會真記. (See further details in Section 2.2.1)

38. Liu, Zunlu 劉遵陸 (op. cit. note 28 above), pp.696-7 & 699-700.
39. Du Fu 杜甫 (op. cit. note 33 above), p.94.
40. Li Bai 李白 (op. cit. note 29 above), p.1097.
41. Ban Gu 班固. *Hanshu* 漢書. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1962 (Chapter 54: Suwu Zhuan 蘇武傳 p. 2464).
42. *Guoyu cidian* 國語辭典. Taipei: Shangwu, 1966 (originally published in 1937 by Shangwu in Shanghai), p.2681.

KYTT (Kuo-yü tz'u-tien) is the abbreviation Hawkes uses for *Guoyu cidian* 國語辭典.

This 4-volume work was published in order to standardize the vernacular dialect then being adopted as a national language (guoyu 國語).

It is particularly useful for the language of the 1930s. Indications of pronunciation are reliable, but the definitions are not very full. It is organized according to Zhuyin fuhao. It includes a classifier index.

Subsequent editions have been released in Taiwan, and the work is available on the internet since 1998.

43. Morohashi, Tetsuji 諸橋轍次. *Dai Kan-Wa jiten*. 大漢和辭典. Tōkyō : Taishūkan, 1955, Volume 5, p.799. (CASGLIAD-1502)

This Chinese-Japanese dictionary of kanji was compiled by a Japanese lexicographer, Morohashi Tetsuji 諸橋轍次, in 1955-60. It is usually referred to as Morohashi. It is highly regarded as one of the most comprehensive dictionaries of classical and literary Chinese, containing a large number of quotations from classical Chinese. The dictionary is famous for its wide coverage of encyclopedic information, covering Taoist and Buddhist terms, official titles, as well as many quotations from classical Chinese.

44. Zhang Yushu 張玉書, comp. *Peiwen yunfu* 佩文韻府. Shanghai: Shangwu, 1937, p.183. (CASGLIAD-1447/1-7)

The best-known rhyming dictionary of the Manchu period, this classic work was imperially commissioned by the Emperor Kangxi during the Qing Dynasty in the early eighteenth century (1704-11) as an aid to literary composition. It is used mainly to place the characters in context so as to identify their meanings and allusions. So, it was referred to as a “Gradus ad parnassum” by Couling (see below), the Latin term for a guidebook to verse composition.

The name of the dictionary is based on Peiwen zhai 佩文齋 (one of the Kangxi Emperor’s favourite libraries) in accordance with the common Qing dynasty practice of including the name of a library in the title of imperially commissioned works.

The *Peiwen Yunfu* is arranged by 10,253 individual head characters classified under the 106 Pingshui rhymes, with compounds and phrases under the character which they have as their final element. There are 700,000 compounds and phrases with many personal and place names.

This classic dictionary was selected for inclusion in the Philosopher's Branch, Leishu category of the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書, a collection of 3,471 books commissioned by the Emperor Qianlong of the Qing Dynasty in the 1770s for assembling for the palace library.

45. Couling, Samuel. *The Encyclopaedia Sinica*. Shanghai : Kelly and Walsh, 1917, p.300.
46. Wang Rong 王融 “Sanyue sanri qushui shixu” 三月三日曲水詩序 in Xiao Tong 蕭統. *Zhaoming wenxuan*. 昭明文選. Taipei: Wenhua tushu, 1973, pp. 646-651.
47. Quoted from 論語 · 學而第一 In Yang Bojun 楊伯峻. Lunyu yizhu 論語譯注. Hong Kong: Zhonghua, 1984. p.6. (CASGLIAD-100: 1958 ed.)

48. Jin Shoushen 金受申. *Beijinghua yuhui* 北京話語匯. Beijing: Shangwu, 1961, p.221.

This little book is a dictionary on the Beijing dialect of Chinese, with a preface written by Lao She 老舍. It provides a useful resource for research on this topic, particularly as it includes words borrowed from ethnic minorities. The compiler, Jin Shoushen 金受申 was a native of Beijing with a deep knowledge of the city. Each entry in the dictionary includes the hanyu pinyin pronunciation, as the same Chinese character can be pronounced differently depending on the expression. Also, it provides an appendix on time indicators (e.g. equivalents for present tense, past tense) in Beijing dialect for reference.

49. Lu Dan'an 陸澹安. *Xiaoshuo ciyu huishi* 小說詞語匯釋. Shanghai: Shanghai jinxu wenzhang, 2008 (a revised edition of the first 1964 edition published by Zhonghua in Beijing), p.357.

This 550-page volume is an index to expressions in over 60 vernacular novels such as *HLM* 紅樓夢, *Shuihuzhuan* 水滸傳, and *Xiyouji* 西遊記, etc. The book covers around 10,000 entries, most of which are given explanations, with 1-2 examples provided indicating the title of the novel and the chapter number. Lu Dan'an himself was a prolific novelist.

50. Wang Mengrui 王夢阮 and Shen Ping'an 沈瓶庵. *Hongloulou meng suo yin* 紅樓夢索隱. Shanghai : Zhonghua, 1916, p.42. (CASGLIAD-1164/1-4: 1964 ed.)

In the book, the authors argue that the contents of *HLM*, including the characters, events, and objects mentioned, are largely based on historical reality. However, most scholars do not accept this view.

51. Mathews, Robert Henry. *Chinese-English Dictionary*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press 1943, p.666 (Revised American edition of the 1931 edition compiled for the China Inland Mission by R.H. Mathews, Shanghai: China Inland Mission and Presbyterian Mission Press) (CASGLIAD-1514)

A bilingual dictionary updated by an Australian Congregationalist missionary, Robert Henry Mathews (1877-1970), who was a trained printer and had worked in China since 1906. He relied on two sources: Frederick W. Baller's *An analytical Chinese-English dictionary*, which was itself based on Herbert A. Giles' *A Chinese-English*

dictionary (1892); and *A new Chinese-English dictionary*. 英漢新辭典, compiled by Li Yuwen 李玉汶 (1918).

Mathews' *Chinese-English Dictionary* was later revised, and 15,000 more phrases were added, giving a total of 104,000 in the 18th print edition published by Harvard University Press in 1943.

52. The story of 效顰 is derived from the chapter, Tianyun 天運 of *Zhuang-zi* 莊子.

See Guo qingfan 郭慶藩. *Zhuang-zi jishi* 莊子集釋 p.228 in vol.3 of Guoxue zhenglishhe 國學整理社, ed. *Zhuzi jicheng* 諸子集成 . Beijing : Zhonghua, 1954. (CASGLIAD-90/1-8: 1959 ed.)

The Book of Zhuang-zi, one of the principal classics of Taoism, is believed to have been written by the philosopher Zhuang-zhou (ca. 369-286 B.C.) and his followers. It is also known as the *Nanhua jing* 南華經 . An English translation of 效顰 can be found in *The complete works of Chuang-tzu* 莊子 translated by Burton Watson. (Chapter 14: The Turning of Heaven 天運)

53. Ji Yougong 計有功. *Tangshi jishi* 唐詩紀事. Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2009, p.612.

唐詩紀事 (also known as *Recorded Occasions in Tang Poetry*) is a collection of Tang poems, compiled by Ji Yougong 計有功, the Southern Song scholar. It differs from other earlier collections by including many stories about the poets and their works. Ji himself writes that he gives details of the lives of the poets so that people would know them as individuals when they read their poems 讀其詩知其人. The phrase became standard in Chinese literary criticism. Ji's work has preserved many poems and much information from the Tang period which would otherwise have been lost.

54. Owen, Stephen. *The late Tang: Chinese Poetry of the Mid-ninth Century (827-860)*. Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard University Press, 2006, p.97.

55. Mathews, Robert Henry (op. cit. note 51 above), p.958.

56. Guoyu cidian 國語辭典 (op. cit. note 42 above), p.1037.

57. Xie Guan 謝觀, ed. *Zhongguo yixue dacidian* 中國醫學大辭典 . Shanghai : Shangwu, 1957, p.4076.

Zhongguo yixue dacidian 中國醫學大辭典 was compiled by Xie Guan, 謝觀 in 1921, with a reprint published by Shangwu yinshuguan in Hong Kong in 1957. It is a valuable handy reference on Chinese medicine, comprising 4 volumes, totalling 5,000 pages. It provides detailed description of over 70,000 entries of botanical terms, the properties of the drugs and how they are made, with illustrations provided for some of the entries. There is an additional index of Chinese characters based on the four-corner number system 四角號碼 at the back of volume 4 .

58. Dun Lichen 敦禮臣. *Yanjing suishi ji* 燕京歲時記. Taipei reprint: Guangwen, 1969, p.63. English translation entitled *Annual Customs And Festivals in Peking*, translated and annotated by Derk Bodde. Hong Kong 1965 reprint of Beijing: Vetch, 1936, p.45.

The title 燕京歲時記 can be literally translated as “Record of the Yanjing (Yen Ching) Year”. Yen Ching 燕京 is an older name for Peking 北京. The author was a Manchu aristocrat. This 1900 book was translated in 1936 by Derk Bodde while he was staying in Beijing. The book records the details of pilgrimages, customs, places, amusements associated with particular points in the year. There are separate chapters for each of the twelve Chinese lunar months. The English version also provides useful information in the appendices, such as a concordance of lunar and western calendars from 1957 to 1984, providing easy conversion of the dates for any of the festivals during these years.

59. The Dragon Boat Festival, also called the Festival of the Double Fifth, falls on the fifth day of the fifth month of the Chinese lunar calendar.

60. Read, Bernard Emms (op. cit. note 20 above), pp.2 & 228.

61. Dun Lichen 敦禮臣 (op. cit. note 58 above), pp.44-45.

62. Meng Yuanlao 孟元老. *Dongjing menghua lu* 東京夢華錄. In *Dongjing menghua lu, Ducheng jisheng, Xihu laoren fansheng lu, Mengliang lu, Wulin jiushi* 東京夢華錄. 都城紀勝. 西湖老人繁勝錄. 夢梁錄. 武林舊事. Beijing: Zhongguo shangye, 1982. (each title is separately paginated, 東京夢華錄, p.52)

A description of life in 汴梁 (modern Kaifeng), capital of the Northern Song, covering its golden age at the end of Emperor Hui-zong 徽宗's reign (1119-1126). The book is a combination of a gazetteer of buildings and monuments, a record of customs (a *fengtu ji* 風土紀), and a calendar of festivals (a *suishi ji* 歲時記). The book has been widely used in research into the Northern Song period.

63. Xihu laoren 西湖老人. *Xihu laoren fansheng lu* 西湖老人繁勝錄. In *Dongjing menghua lu, Ducheng jisheng, Xihu laoren fansheng lu, Mengliang lu, Wulin jiushi* 東京夢華錄. 都城紀勝. 西湖老人繁勝錄. 夢梁錄. 武林舊事 Beijing: Zhongguo shangye, 1982. (each title is separately paginated, 西湖老人繁勝錄, p.10)

An account of early thirteenth century life in the Southern Song capital.

64. Wu Zimu 吳自牧. *Mengliang lu* 夢梁錄. In *Dongjing menghua lu, Ducheng jisheng, Xihu laoren fansheng lu, Mengliang lu, Wulin jiushi* 東京夢華錄. 都城紀勝. 西湖老人繁勝錄. 夢梁錄. 武林舊事 Beijing: Zhongguo shangye, 1982. (each title is separately paginated, 夢梁錄, p.19)

Memoirs of mid-thirteenth century life in Lin'an (Hangzhou), the Southern Song capital. The book is modeled after the *Dongjing menghua lu* 東京夢華錄.

65. Zhou Mi 周密, *Wulin jiushi* 武林舊事. In *Dongjing menghua lu, Ducheng jisheng, Xihu laoren fansheng lu, Mengliang lu, Wulin jiushi* 東京夢華錄. 都城紀勝. 西湖老人繁勝錄. 夢梁錄. 武林舊事. Beijing: Zhongguo shangye, 1982. (each title is separately

paginated, 武林舊事, p.47)

An account of the Southern Song capital toward the end of the twelfth century. Manuscripts of this work circulated under the pen-name Sishui qianfu 四水潛夫, one of Zhou Mi's aliases, until the first printing in the sixteenth century. This book puts more emphasis on court than other books listed above.

66. Jin Shoushen 金受申 (op. cit. note 48 above), p.117.
67. *Guoyu cidian* 國語辭典 (op. cit. note 42 above)
68. Mathews, Robert Henry (op. cit. note 51 above), p.617.
69. Mathews, Robert Henry (op. cit. note 51 above), p.838.
70. *The Oxford Chinese Dictionary : English-Chinese, Chinese-English*. Oxford; New York : Oxford University Press, 2010, pp. 565, 466.
71. Zheng Guangzu 鄭光祖. *Qiannü lihun* 倩女離魂. In *Zheng Guangzu ji* 鄭光祖集. Edited by Feng Junjie 馮俊傑. Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin, 1992, p.33.

This well-known Yuan play, *The departed soul of Qian-nü* 倩女離魂, is one of the 18 plays attributed to a famous Yuan playwright, Zheng Guangzu 鄭光祖 (c. 1260 - c.1320), one of the greatest practitioners of the genre.

Zheng was so renowned all over China that any mention of “respectable Mr. Zheng”, even in court, would be understood by actors as referring to Zheng Guangzu. Many intellectuals attended his funeral and wrote in his memory.

A synopsis of *The departed soul of Qian-nü* 倩女離魂:

Zhang Yi has a beautiful daughter, Qian-nü. Zhang Yi is fond of his nephew, Wang Zhou, who is a gifted young man. He would like to make Qian-nü Wang's wife.

In fact, Qian-nü and Wang Zhou are already in love, without the knowledge of their families. In time matchmakers come to arrange for Zhou to be married to someone else, not to Zhang Yi's daughter. Wang Zhou is very angry and leaves home.

On his way to the capital, Wang meets Qian-nü who comes to meet him (in fact, Qian-nü's soul follows Wang to the capital), and promises to risk her life to be with Wang. They settle at Sichuan and live there for 5 years. They have two sons. They decide to return home.

Upon arrival, Wang comes first to Qian-nü's father and confesses to him what has happened. Qian-nü's father is surprised to hear that his daughter has been with him for the past 5 years. He says his daughter has been ill in bed all that time.

When the bed-ridden Qian-nü hears of this, she rises from the bed and comes out to welcome the other Qian-nü, and her soul and body merge into one, and the family live happily thereafter.

This is a story of the soul separating from the body, which loses vitality and slowly withers away if the soul does not return in time.

72. Guo Maoqian 郭茂倩. *Yuefu shiji* 樂府詩集. Beijing: Renmin wenxue, 2010, p.935.
(CASGLIAD-628: Shanghai: Zhonghua, 19--)

73. Peng Dingqiu 彭定求. *Quan Tangshi* 全唐詩 (op. cit. note 30 above), p.261.

74. Miyata Ichirō 宮田一郎, ed. *Kōrōmu goi sakuin* 紅樓夢語彙索引. Nagoya: Hanka Shorin, 1973, p.391. (CASGLIAD-1202)

This useful Japanese work provides an index of the idioms, phrases, and colloquial expressions from *Honglouloumeng*, which are listed in Hanyu Pinyin alphabetical order. It provides the occurrence of these expressions, with page references to Yu Pingbo's 紅樓夢八十回校本 *Honglouloumeng bashihui jiaoben*.

75. Needham, Joseph, et al. *Science and Civilisation in China*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954 -2004.

Joseph Needham (1900-1995), known as 李約瑟 in China, was a Cambridge scientist on embryology who became the author of the monumental *Science and Civilisation in China*, and devoted around five decades to documenting the history of Chinese Science. The first volume was published in 1954.

These massive volumes cover the development of Chinese science, technology and medicine. He is credited with first making the western world aware of China's scientific achievements.

By his death in 1995, he had produced 17 volumes, several written with the research assistance of his collaborator, Lu Gwei-Djen. His project has been continued by the Needham Research Institute in Cambridge.

76. Needham's collaborator, Lu Gwei-Djen 魯桂珍 (1904-1991), was a biochemist born in Nanjing who arrived in Cambridge in 1937. Needham fell in love with her, as he had done with China and its language. This led to the inception of the 5-decade project. They married only in 1989, two years before Lu died.

When Lu Gwei-Djen studied in Peking Union Medical College 北平協和醫院, she was a student of Bernard Emms Read (1887-1947) who was then Dean of the Faculty (see Note 20 on p.201 for details). Read's long list of publications can be found in the bibliography of various volumes of Joseph Needham and Lu Gwei-djen, *Science and Civilization in China*, e.g. Vol. 5, Part 5, p.481-2.

77. Shi Nai'an 施耐庵. *Shuihu zhuan* 水滸傳. Beijing: Zuoja, 1953.

Water Margin 水滸傳 is ranked as one of The Four Great Classical Novels of Chinese literature together with *The Story of the Stone* 紅樓夢, *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* 三國演義, and *Journey to the West* 西遊記. The novel was written by Shi Nai'an in the 14th century and is based on historical events of the early Twelfth century and legendary sources, involving Song Jiang 宋江's bandit group in Shandong. These outlaws protest against the corruption and injustice of the despotic government. In the novel, they defeat Government troops many times before surrendering to the authorities and helping to suppress other rebels. They finally die heroic deaths in the last victorious battle. The novel is marked by an easy, colloquial style and combines an exciting story with social realism.

78. Xu Zhonglin 許仲琳. *Fengshen yanyi* 封神演義. Beijing: Renmin wenxue, 1973.

Fengshen yanyi is also known as *Investiture of the Gods*. This 16th century novel is a fantasy which intertwines elements of Chinese history, Chinese mythology, folklore, together with Taoist and Buddhist legends, involving struggles between supernatural beings, human heroes and various spirits.

79. Cao Xueqin 曹雪芹 and Gao E 高鶚. *Dream of the Red Chamber*. Translated by Wang Jizhen (Chi-chen) 王際真. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1958, p.396. (CASGLIAD-1221)

C C Wang is Hawkes' abbreviation for Wang Chi-chen.

Wang Jizhen (Chi-chen) (1899-2001) was a literary scholar and translator who was born in China and went to the United States as a student in 1923, and then taught at Columbia University from 1929 until he retired in 1965. One of his students was the prominent translator, Burton Watson. Wang corresponded regularly with friends in China, including the poet, Xu Zhimo, the novelist, Shen Congwen, and the literary critic, C.T. Hsia.

Wang's well-known English abridgement of *HLM*, known as *Dream of the Red Chamber*, is a very readable translation, and the first to give the entire story. It remains very popular in the West.

Wang's translation was originally published in 1929, with an introduction and 39 chapters. A greatly expanded 60-chapter version came out in 1958, and a condensed paperback 40-chapter edition was published in the same year. The 1929 translation gives a fuller version of Chapters 1-57, but a highly condensed one of the remainder. He concentrates on the love triangle of Bao-yu and his cousins and largely ignores sub-plots. The 1958 translation was greatly expanded, but still focuses principally on the love triangle, while adding a lot more background details.

80. Wu Zimu 吳自牧 (op. cit. note 64 above), p. 175.

81. Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021-1086) was among the eight great prose masters of the Tang and Song Dynasties. He was, in fact, an outstanding composer of poetry as well as prose, producing more than 1500 poems. However, he is remembered less as a writer than as a statesman, because of his attempt to introduce radical reforms during the Northern Song period. He believed that the prime purpose of literature was to bring about improvement in society.

82. Li Shizhen 李時珍 (op. cit. note 21 above), p.2889 & Read, Bernard Emms (op. cit. note 20 above), p.79.

83. Read, Bernard Emms (op. cit. note 20 above), passim.

84. Xie Guan 謝觀 (op. cit. note 57 above), p.1695

85. Yoshikawa, Kōjirō 吉川幸次郎 and 小川環樹 Ogawa, Tamaki, eds. *Riku Yu* 陸游.

Annotated by Ikkai Tomoyoshi 一海知義注. (*Zhongguo shiren xuanji* 中國詩人選集) Tokyo: Iwanami, 1962, p.120. (CASGLIAD-814)

This is one of a series of 37 volumes on Chinese poets, with each volume dedicated to one author. The information given may include translation of selected extracts, commentary and biographical details.

The volume on Lu Yu 陸遊 provides a Japanese translation of the poem, and a commentary on it, indicating that the poem was composed when the poet was 78. (CASGLIAD-814)

86. Wu Chucai 吳楚材 and Wu Tiaohou 吳調侯, comp. *Guwen guanzhi yizhu* 古文觀止譯注. Edited by Yin Falu 陰法魯. Beijing: Beijing daxue, 2001, pp.691-2.

This anthology is a collection of ancient-style prose compiled in 1695. Being an essential reading for civil service examination candidates during the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911), its popularity is mainly due to its strict selection criteria, as it drew only on the core canon of works such as *Zuozhuan* 左傳, *Shiji* 史記, *Hanshu* 漢書 as models of ancient-style prose. The Anthology contains a selection of 220 short pieces of ancient-style prose, each of which is accompanied with concise notes.

87. Ou-yang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007-1072), a politician, a poet, an essayist in the Song Dynasty (in the eleventh century), is honoured as one of the eight great prose masters of the Tang and Song Dynasties 唐宋八大家. Several of Ou-yang Xiu's works, including *The Pavilion of the Old Drunkard* 醉翁亭記, are selected for inclusion in *Guwen Guanzhi* 古文觀止, together with the works of other major literary figures such as Han Yu 韓愈, and Su Shi 蘇軾.

The Pavilion of the Old Drunkard 醉翁亭記, is Ou-yang's 歐陽修 most popular prose essay, and showcases the fine quality of Ou-yang's prose composition. This remarkable piece is well-known for its good order and unique structure. Though there is no marking of sentence division in the original piece, readers will be able to discern the particle "ye" (也) which signals the end of a sentence. In this composition, there are altogether twenty-one "ye" (也), with almost every sentence concluded with the same particle, "ye" (也).

88. Liu, James T.C. *Ou-yang Hsiu: An Eleventh-century Neo-Confucianist*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1967, p.146.

This 1967 publication is a translation of the author's Chinese publication titled 歐陽修的治學與從政, published in 1963 in Hong Kong. The book provides a detailed account of Ou-yang Xiu 歐陽修 and his works, as well as the translation of *The Pavilion of the Old Drunkard* 醉翁亭記. The author, James T.C. Liu (Liu Zijian 劉子健, 1919-1993), is renowned for his pioneering research on the Song Dynasty, in particular, on Ou-yang Xiu. Liu attended Tsinghua University and Yenching University in China, and received his Ph.D from the University of Pittsburgh in 1950, teaching there before joining Stanford in 1960. He moved to Princeton University five years later.

89. Li Bai 李白 (op. cit. note 29 above), p.1036.

90. Mathews, Robert Henry (op. cit. note 51 above), p.1040.

91. Obata, Shigeyoshi 小畑薰良. *The Works of Li Po, the Chinese poet: Done into English Verse by Shigeyoshi Obata*. New York: Paragon Book Reprint, 1965, p.75. (CASGLIAD-725)

This 1922 book is the first volume devoted entirely to a selection of Li Bai's poem in English translation, in which there are 132 poems by or about Li Bai in English translation. The book features English translations of 124 poems by Li Bai and 8 poems concerning Li Bai, totaling 132 poems. It also lists the previous translations of each poem included in the book, and provides a translation of the details of Li Bai's life found in the two "Books of Tang".

The 1965 edition provides the original Chinese text of the 132 poems included in the book.

Obata, Shigeyoshi 小畑薰良 was a Japanese who developed an enthusiasm for Chinese poetry as a boy, when he memorized some of Li Bai's poems. Throughout his life he carried an edition of Li Bai's work with him. Some of his translations were originally published in the Wisconsin Literary Magazine when he was a graduate studying English during the years 1917-1918. Obata wanted to convey the literary effect and was most willing to expand, paraphrase, or omit certain words as necessary. Perhaps this is the reason why Hawkes chooses to rely on Obata rather than others.

92. Tang Xianzu 湯顯祖 (op. cit. note 36 above), p.2096.
93. Ban Gu 班固 (op. cit. note 41 above), (Chapter 97A Waiqi zhuan shang: Xiao-wu Li-furen zhuan 外戚傳上: 孝武李夫人傳, p.3951)
94. Wang Shifu 王實甫. *The Moon and the Zither: The Story of the Western Wing*. Edited and translated with an introduction by Stephen H. West and Wilt L. Idema. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991, p.99-100.
95. Wang Shifu 王實甫 (op. cit. note 37 above), p.39.
96. Wang Shifu 王實甫. *The Moon and the Zither* (op. cit. note 94 above), p.212.
97. Wang Shifu 王實甫 (op. cit. note 37 above), p. 146.
98. Tang Xianzu 湯顯祖 (op. cit. note 36 above), pp.2096-2097.
99. *Guoyu cidian* 國語辭典 (op. cit. note 42 above), p.2799.
100. Tang Xianzu 湯顯祖 (op. cit. note 36 above), p.2098.
101. Peng Dingqiu 彭定求. *Quan Tangshi* 全唐詩 (op. cit. note 30 above), p.7783.
102. Li Yu 李煜. *Li Jing Li Yu ci* 李璟李煜詞. Beijing: Renmin wenxue, 1958, p.79. (CASGLIAD-833)
103. Wang Shifu 王實甫 (op. cit. note 37 above), p.2.

104. Wang Shifu 王實甫 (op. cit. note 37 above), p.47.
105. Wang Shifu 王實甫 (op. cit. note 37 above), p.18.
106. Wang Changling 王昌齡. “Qinglouqu” 青樓曲 in *Tangshi sanbai shou* 唐詩三百首. Hong Kong: Zhonghua, 2013, p.346.

“Qinglouqu” 青樓曲 is a famous poem by Wang Changling 王昌齡 (698-756), a major poet of the Tang dynasty. This poem is typical of Wang’s works. Wang specializes in the seven-character quatrain. He is particularly famous for his description of battles on China’s western frontiers. Some of his work was selected for inclusion in the *Three Hundred Tang Poems*, a popular anthology of Tang poems first published around 1763.

107. Wang Shifu 王實甫 (op. cit. note 37 above), p.169.
108. Wang Shifu 王實甫 (op. cit. note 37 above), p.67.
109. *Guoyu cidian* 國語辭典 (op. cit. note 42 above), p.2941.
110. *Guoyu cidian* 國語辭典 (op. cit. note 42 above), p.1792.

3 Hawkes' approach to textual variation

It is a well-known fact that *HLM* has an extraordinarily complex textual history. This is to some extent because the author, Cao Xueqin (c.1715-63?), used to send his drafts to his friends and relatives so that when he died, leaving the work unfinished, various versions were already in circulation. Furthermore, since those who read the draft commented and edited the text, the difference between these manuscripts only increased. There are all kinds of omissions and misspellings.

As pointed out by Hawkes, all these various versions have in common eighty chapters in total. They are all entitled *Red Inkstone's Re-annotated Story of the Stone* 脂硯齋重評石頭記, as the main text is accompanied by commentary dated from 1754 to 1784 by individuals using the pen-names, Red Inkstone, 脂硯齋 (Zhiyan Zhai) and Odd Tablet, 畸笏叟 (Jihusou). As pointed out by Wu Shichang ¹, the name, Red Inkstone 脂硯齋 (Zhiyan Zhai) was adopted simply because the commentator involved wrote in red ink originally.

Each Red Inkstone manuscript carries a date in the traditional sixty year cycle. For example, the Jiaxu 甲戌 manuscript includes commentary dated 1754, the year of Jiaxu 甲戌. Similarly, the Gengchen 庚辰 manuscript, includes commentary dated 1761, the year of Gengchen 庚辰.

Among the Red Inkstone manuscripts, Hawkes consults Gengchen frequently. Hawkes also refers to 乾隆抄本, a 120-chapter manuscript dated in the reign of the Qing emperor, 乾隆, which Hawkes refers to as 乾鈔/乾抄 or 高鈔/高抄 in the *Notebooks*.

The first published version of *HLM* came out in 1791, around 30 years after Cao's death, in a 120-chapter version, edited by Cheng Weiyuan 程偉元 and Gao E 高鶚, known popularly as 程甲本 Cheng-Jia. The second edition, referred to as Cheng Yi 程乙本, was published in 1792. These two editions are usually referred to as the Cheng Gao 程高本.

There is an on-going heated debate as to whether the last 40 chapters were based on the unfinished drafts of Cao Xueqin, or were the editors' own invention. This question is beyond the scope of this thesis. Details of the numerous manuscripts of *HLM* and the controversies

can be consulted at the article “The Story of the Stone’s Journey to the West: The History of the English Translations of Honglouloumeng” by Minford and Fan.²

When Hawkes started the translation, he followed the 1964 Renwen Wenxue 人民文學 edition which is based on the Cheng Yi edition 程乙本, with an annotation by Qi Gong 啟功. The same publisher brought out versions of *HLM* in 1957, 1959, 1964, and 1973.

One of the other printed editions which Hawkes occasionally consults is the *Honglouloumeng bashihui jiaoben* 紅樓夢八十回校本 edited by Yu Pingbo 俞平伯, which first came out in 1958, and (which for the first 80 chapters) follows in the main the Gengchen Red Inkstone text.

Despite the fact that Hawkes uses the Renmin edition as his starting point, as the work proceeds, he makes a small but increasing number of deviations from it. In the beginning, Hawkes is not so fully aware of the textual inconsistencies and differences. It is only while working on the translation that he realizes none of the versions are completely reliable.

It became easier to consult the different versions as gradually more became available in facsimile. Hawkes becomes more and more interested in the short-comings of the original. He uses his own academic skill to choose the best alternative at each point, sorting out possible solutions through his scholarly way to skip from version to version.

In effect, Hawkes is able essentially to produce his own unique edition of the Chinese text from which to work on his translation. His own edition is different from any of the previous editions, in print or manuscript. This “edition” of his is carefully reproduced in Dr. Fan Shengyu’s collation for the 2012 Shanghai bilingual edition. (See Section 4.5.2)

There is an abundance of examples in the *Notebooks* illustrating how Hawkes is simultaneously an expert translator and a sensitive literary editor. The *Notebooks* show how he goes about this task. The choices he makes show his reasons for changing, omitting particular words and phrases in the text. Furthermore, through his meticulous and thorough approach, Hawkes identifies inconsistencies in the original texts, exercising a great deal of creativity and freedom in his emendations, his ultimate goal being to produce a readable and consistent work and to enhance the readers’ enjoyment of the novel.

Further evidence of Hawkes’ editorial methods is now available in the facsimile of Hawkes’ handwritten manuscripts of chapters 2-80, which are now accessible through the Chinese University of Hong Kong library website. (see Section 1.3.3)

Examples of Hawkes' approach to textual variation are discussed in the following Sections.

3.1 Comparison of variant texts from different editions

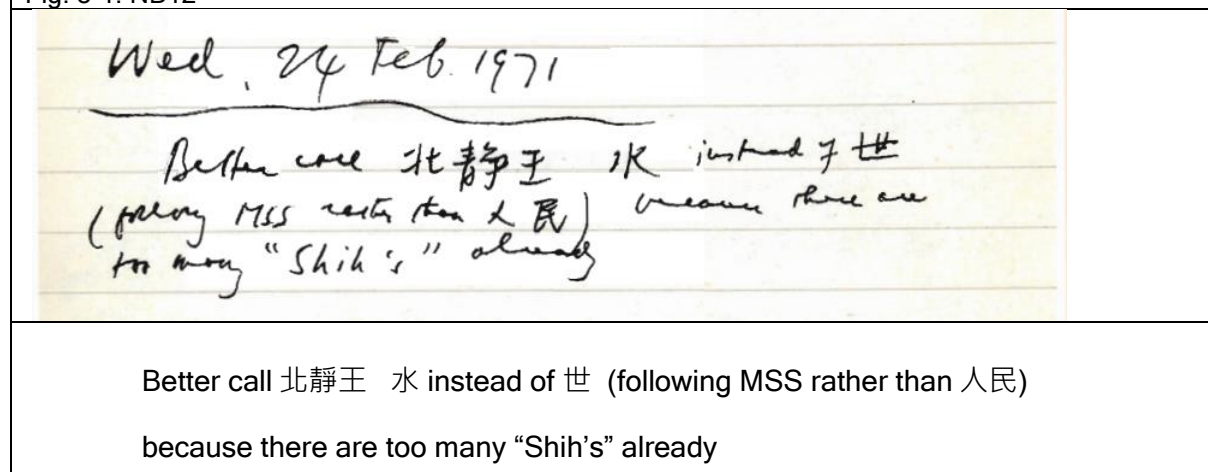
3.1.1 Consideration for the Reader: Shui Rong 水溶 (Wed 24 Feb 1971) (NB12)

In Chapter 14, the Prince of Bei-jing 北靜王 comes to attend the funeral of Qin-shi, the daughter-in-law of Jia Zhen. The ancestor of the Prince of Bei-jing had a long-established friendship with the Ning-guo Duke of the Jia Family, with whom he shared military exploits.

Hawkes notices the variant versions of the name of the Prince of Bei-jing 北靜王. His name is 水溶 in the manuscripts, Gengchen (G I, 14, 297) and Qianchao (Q I, 14, 156), whereas he is called 世榮 in Renmin. (R I, 14, 160)

Hawkes writes on NB12 as follows:

Fig. 3-1: NB12



In the story, there are many characters with "Shih" in their names. "Shih" is the Wade-Giles romanization for the word 世 and 史 (both of these characters have the same sound), which is "Shi" in Hanyu pinyin. At this stage (February 1971), Hawkes was still using Wade-Giles.

One of the reasons is that 史 is the maiden name of Grandmother Jia, 史太君, and thus the surname of all the members of her natal family, including e.g. Shi Xiang-yun 史湘云, Grandmother Jia's great niece; and Shi Ding 史鼎, Grandmother Jia's nephew.

Based on the above, and with his usual consideration for the readers, Hawkes decides to render the Prince of Bei-jing 北靜王 as “Shui Rong” 水溶. (P I, 14, 285)

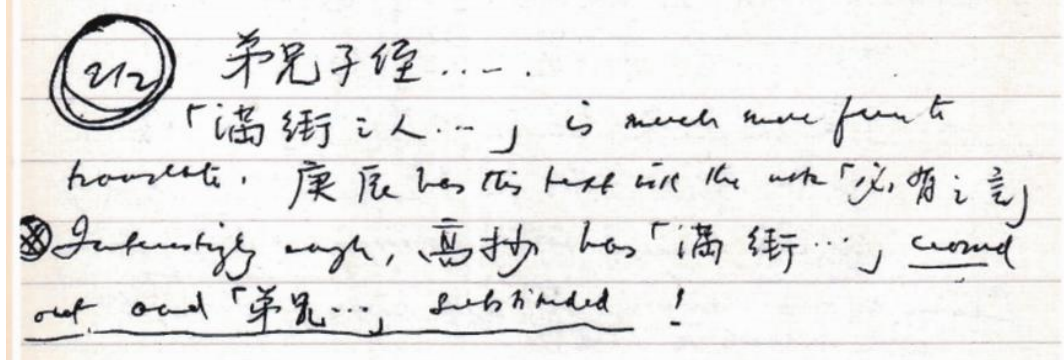
Regarding the romanisation of Chinese characters, Hawkes initially adopted the Wade-Giles system, and later changed to Hanyu pinyin. So, the notes in the early pages of the *Notebooks* often use the Wade-Giles romanisation.

3.1.2 More Fun to Translate: Passers-by 滿街之人 (Fri 2 Jul 1971) (NB22)

Chapter 19 describes the New Year celebrations of the Jia family on the day following Yuan-chun’s Lantern Festival visit. The Jia Family are having plays performed at home. The plays are actually very noisy ones. The deafening sounds of musical instruments and the shouts of battle cries could easily be heard in the streets outside.

Hawkes writes on NB22 regarding this scene:

Fig. 3-2: NB22

	
<p>212 弟兄子侄 ...</p> <p>「滿街之人 ...」 is much more fun to translate.</p> <p>庚辰 has this text with the note 「必有之言」</p> <p>Interestingly enough, 高抄 has 「滿街 ...」 <u>crossed out and 「弟兄...」 substituted</u> !</p>	

Hawkes notes the textual variants regarding the jovial atmosphere as follows:

Renmin has 「弟兄子侄，互為獻酬，姊妹婢妾，共相笑語。」 (R I, 19, 212)

Gengchen has 「滿街之人個個都讚好熱鬧戲別人家斷不能有的」 (G I, 19, 402)

This Gengchen text is followed by the note 「必有之言」 (literally, a stock response [from onlookers]).

Qianchao has 「滿街之人個個都讚好熱鬧戲別人家斷不能有的」

replaced with 「弟兄子侄互為獻酬姊妹婢妾共相笑語」 (Q I, 19, 211)

Renmin refers to the activities within the family, whereas Gengchen explicitly describes the conversation in the streets outside.

Among the variant texts, Hawkes prefers Gengchen, remarking that “「滿街之人 ... 」 is much more fun to translate”, and renders accordingly as follows:

「滿街之人個個都讚好熱鬧戲別人家斷不能有的」 (G I, 19, 402)

“where the passers-by smiled appreciatively and told each other that only a family like the Jias could afford theatricals that produced so satisfying a volume of noise.”

(P I, 19, 376)

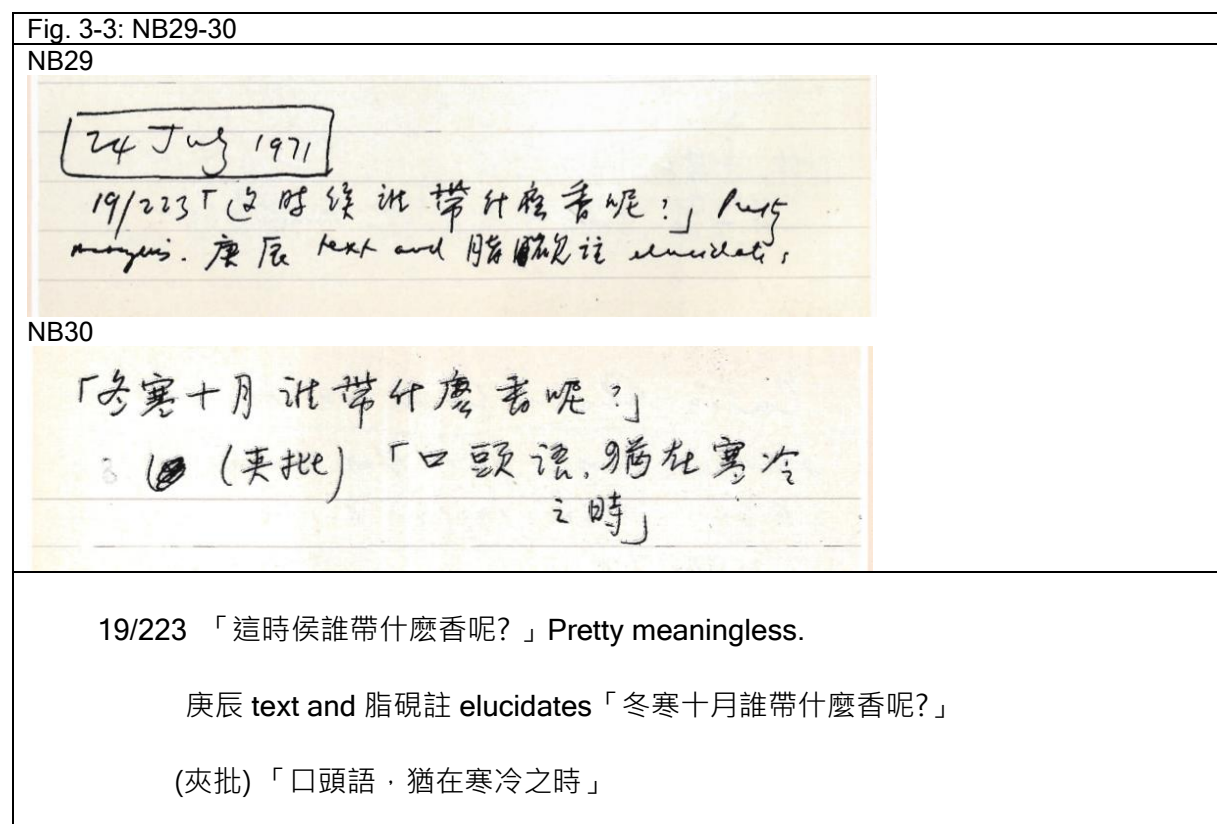
3.1.3 Pretty Meaningless: Cold winter 冬寒十月 (24 Jul 1971) (NB29-30)

Chapter 19 describes Bao-yu talking with Dai-yu in her room. He is obsessed by the delicate scent which Dai-yu's sleeve seems to give off. He grabs her sleeve and demands the name of the perfume. The following is Dai-yu's response, which varies among versions.

Renmin has 「黛玉笑道：「這時候誰帶什麼香呢？」」 (R I, 19, 223)

Gengchen has 「黛玉笑道冬寒十月誰帶什麼香呢」 (G I, 19, 427)

For the expression, 冬寒十月, Hawkes relies on the annotation from Gengchen, as recorded on NB29-30 as follows:



As shown by the above, Hawkes prefers the Gengchen text, remarking that the Renmin text doesn't seem to add anything significant.

脂硯註 refers to the comments by Red Inkstone (脂硯齋 Zhiyan Zhai) accompanying the main text in the Gengchen 庚辰 manuscript.

夾批 refers to the interlinear annotation, which is inserted between the lines of the main text.

In this example, the interlinear annotation 「口頭語，猶在寒冷之時」 is inserted to explain that 冬寒十月 is a colloquial expression, meaning in the cold winter. Hawkes embeds this in the published translation as follows:

「這時候誰帶什麼香呢？」 (R I, 19, 223)

「冬寒十月誰帶什麼香呢」 (G I, 19, 427)

“ In the cold winter none smells sweet “ (P I, 19, 394)

3.1.4 A Bolt from the Blue: A clap of thunder 焦雷 (Wed 17 Nov 1971) (NB38)

In Chapter 23, Bao-yu is discussing with Grandmother Jia and Dai-yu where in Prospect Garden they want to live, as Yuan-chun has ordered Bao-yu and the girls to move there.

Excited about the move, they are happily making plans. In the middle of their discussion, Bao-yu hears from a messenger that his father wants to see him. Renmin gives Bao-yu's response
呆了半晌，登時掃了興。

The expression 呆了半晌，登時掃了興 describes how this ruins his happy mood.

Hawkes writes on NB38 re the expression as follows:

Fig. 3-4: NB38

<p>p.264. 呆了半晌，登時掃了興</p> <p>乾抄：好似打了个焦，登時掃去興頭</p> <p>庚辰：好似打了个焦雷，登時掃去興頭</p> <p>Pres. 焦雷 is like 焦霹靂 = 旱雷</p>	<p>p.264 呆了半晌，登時掃了興</p> <p>乾抄：好似打了个焦，登時掃去興頭</p> <p>庚辰：好似打了个焦雷，登時掃去興頭</p> <p>Pres. 焦雷 is like 焦霹靂 = 旱雷</p>
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Hawkes notices the following variants among texts:

Renmin has 「呆了半晌，登時掃了興」 (R I, 23, 264)

Qianchao has 「好似打了个焦登時掃去興頭」 (Q I, 23, 261)

Gengchen has 「好似打了个焦雷登時掃去興頭」 (G II, 23, 513)

As shown in the above, Gengchen gives 焦雷 instead of 呆了半晌 in Renmin. In fact, the expression 焦雷 appears also in Chapter 26 in Renmin where Bao-yu is talking with Dai-yu, and Aroma comes to tell him that his father wants to see him, 「不覺打了個焦雷一般」. (R I, 26, 307)

In both cases, the expression 焦雷 is used to describe Bao-yu's state of mind when he hears that his father is summoning him.

On NB38, Hawkes writes “Pres [Presumably] 焦雷 is like 焦霹靂 = 旱雷 ”

Mathews' *Chinese-English Dictionary*³ gives:

焦雷 : “a clap of thunder.”

旱雷 : “thunder without rain.”

霹靂 : “sound of thunder; a rumbling noise.”

<p>Fig. 3-5: Mathews, Robert Henry. <i>Chinese-English Dictionary</i>. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1943, p.99.³</p> <p>焦燥 parched; hot. ¹⁰焦脆 crisp. <u>焦雷 a clap of thunder.</u> 焦面 focal plane. 焦頭爛額 to be severely burned in assisting to extinguish a fire—used of one who has worked under great hardship.</p>	<p>Fig. 3-6: Mathews, Robert Henry. <i>Chinese-English Dictionary</i>. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1943, 301.³</p> <p>旱道 or 旱路 overland travelling. 走旱路 to travel by road. ¹⁵起旱 to start on a road-journey. <u>旱雷 thunder without rain.</u> 旱風 a blasting, dry wind. 旱魃 or 旱母 the drought-demon, a dwarf who is said to be</p>
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<p>Fig. 3-7: Mathews, Robert Henry. <i>Chinese-English Dictionary</i>. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1943, p.713.³</p> <p>霹^{4.5.} 5178 The crash of thunder. 霹雷 a clap of thunder. <u>霹靂 sound of thunder; a rumbling noise.</u> 霹靂一聲 a clap of thunder; a startling sound—used fig.</p>
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Hawkes follows Gengchen's 焦雷 and adopts the idea of "thunderbolt" in rendering Bao-yu's state of mind as follows:

Chapter 23:

「呆了半晌，登時掃了興」 (R I, 23, 264)

「好似打了个焦雷登時掃去興頭」 (G II, 23, 513)

"At this bolt from the blue his countenance fell and all his animation drained away."

(P I, 23, 456)

Chapter 26:

「不覺打了個焦雷一般」 (R I, 26, 307)

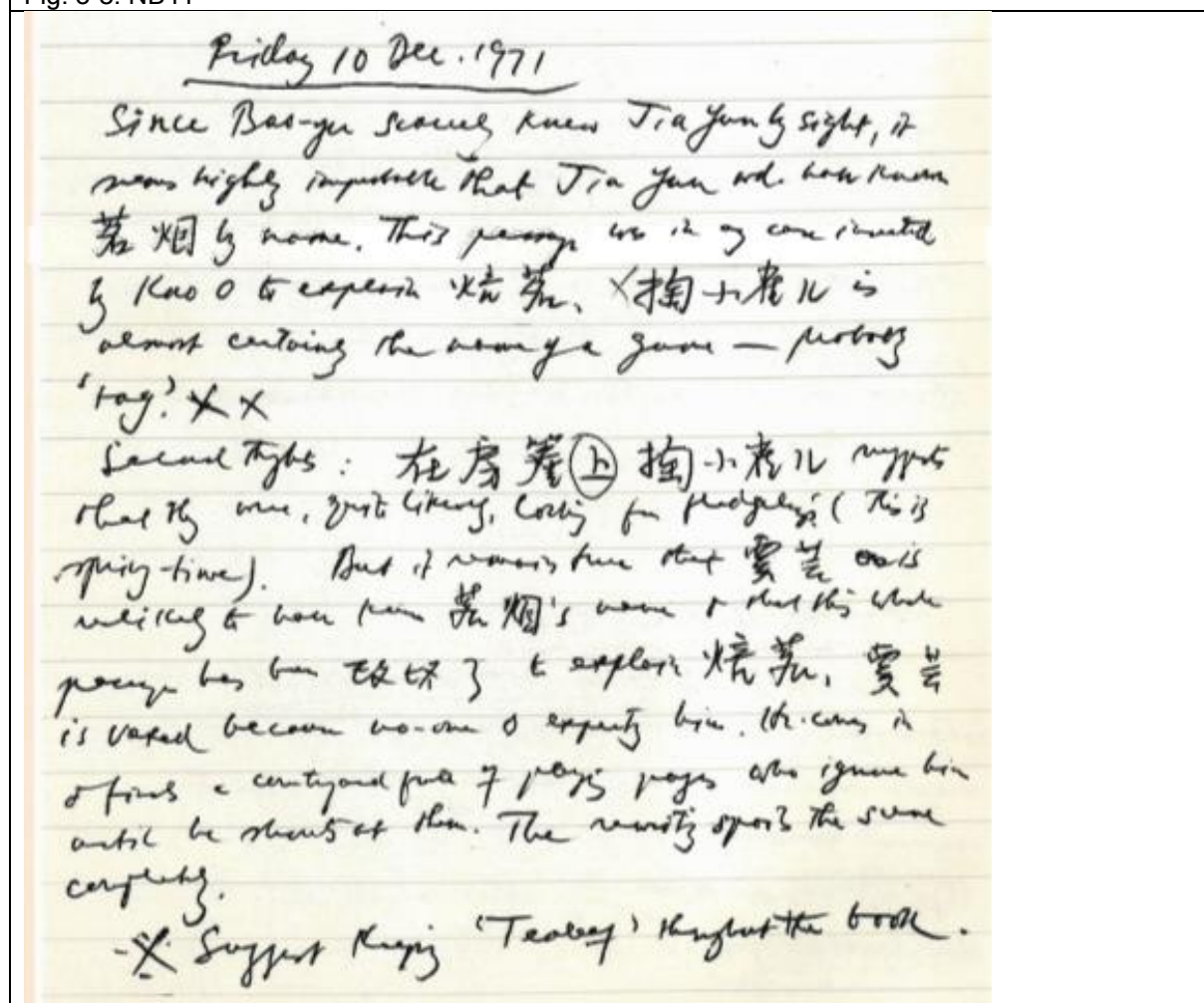
"The descent of this thunderbolt drove all else from his mind" (P I, 26, 518)

3.1.5 Wrongly Altered 改壞了 : Tealeaf 茗烟 (Fri 10 Dec 1971) (NB41)

Chapter 24 describes the scene when Jia Yun comes to Bao-yu's study at Bao-yu's invitation. Hawkes remarks that the Renmin text, in which Jia Yun addresses Tealeaf 「茗烟」 by name, is inappropriate:

Details of NB41 is as follows:

Fig. 3-8: NB41



Since Bao-yu scarcely knew Jia Yun by sight, it seems highly improbable that Jia Yun wd [would] have known 茗烟 by name. This passage was in any case invented by Kao O to explain 焙茗.

掏小雀兒 is almost certainly the name of a game - probably 'tag'.

Second thoughts: 在房簷上掏小雀兒 suggests that they were, quite likely, looking for fledgelings. (This is spring-time).

But it remains true that 賈芸 is unlikely to have known 茗烟's name & that this whole passage has been 改坏了 to explain 焙茗. 賈芸 is vexed because no-one is expecting him. He comes in & finds a courtyard full of playing pages who ignore him until he shouts at them. The rewriting spoils the scene completely.

Suggest keeping 'Tealeaf' throughout the book.

Hawkes initially notes that 掏小雀兒 is “the name of a game -- probably ‘tag’.” He then suggests the alternative that it is likely that they are looking for fledgelings, with his reasoning that it is an appropriate activity during the spring-time.

The different wordings in *HLM* editions are as follows::

Renmin gives

「只見茗烟在那裏掏小雀兒呢。賈芸在他身後，把腳一蹶，道：「茗烟小猴兒又淘氣了！」茗烟回頭，見是賈芸，便笑道：「何苦二爺唬我們這麼一跳。」因又笑說：「我不叫『茗烟』了」，我們寶二爺嫌『烟』字不好，改了叫「『焙茗』了。二爺明兒只叫我焙茗罷。」賈芸點頭笑着同進書房，」 (R I, 24, 281)

In Renmin, after Jia Yun calls Tealeaf by name, Tealeaf tells Jia Yun of the change of his name from 茗烟 to 焙茗, and explains that the change is because Bao-yu doesn't like the character, 烟.

Gengchen gives

「鋤藥兩個小廝下象棋為奪車正辦嘴還有引泉掃花桃雲伴鶴四五個又在房簷上掏小雀兒頑賈芸進入院內把腳一蹶說道猴頭們淘氣我來了眾小廝看見賈芸進來都纔散了賈芸進入房來」 (G II, 24, 542)

In Gengchen, Tealeaf's change of name is omitted. Instead, it describes the scene of the playing pages, and Jia Yun is ignored by the playing pages until he shouts at them.

Hawkes criticizes the Renmin text as follows (NB41):

- “this passage was in any case invented by Kao O to explain 焙茗”;
- “賈芸 is unlikely to have known 茗烟's name & that this whole passage has been 改坏了 [wrongly altered] to explain 焙茗”;
- “the rewriting spoils the scene completely”;
- “賈芸 is vexed because no-one is expecting him. He comes in & finds a courtyard full of playing pages who ignore him until he shouts at them.”

Hawkes prefers Gengchen, which describes the scene in the way he thinks is appropriate.

Consequently, Hawkes rejects the idea of the name change to keep Tealeaf throughout the book.

Based on Gengchen, Hawkes translates the scene as follows:

“He found the pages Tealeaf and Ploughboy sitting over a game of chess and arguing about a piece that one of them had just taken. Other pages - Trickle, Sweeper, Cloudy and Storky - were up on the roof looking for fledgelings. Jia Yun entered the courtyard and stamped his foot: ‘Come on, you young rascals! Can’t you see you’ve got a visitor?’ The pages, except Tealeaf, melted away. Jia Yun went into the study and sat down in a chair.” (P I, 24, 479)

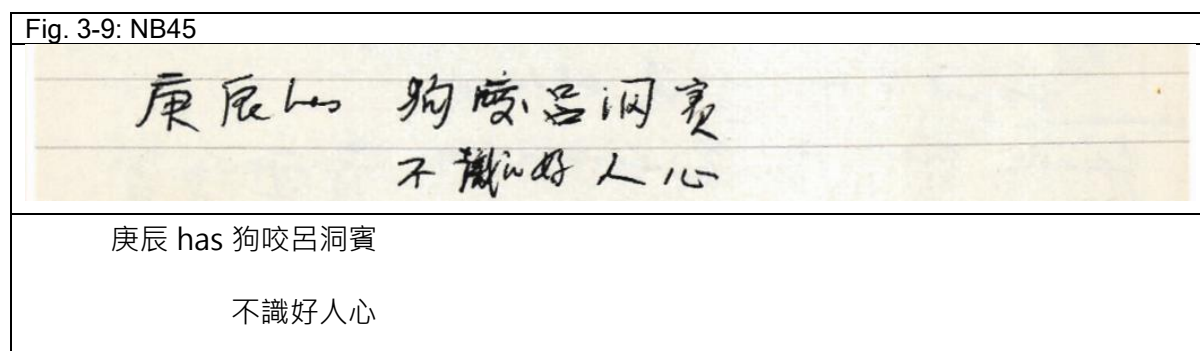
3.1.6 Ungrateful: The dog that bit Lü Dong-bin 狗咬呂洞賓 (Thur 6 Jan 1972) (NB45)

In Chapter 25, when Jia Huan comes home, Lady Wang tells him to copy out a description of “the *Dharani of the Immaculate Diamond*” 「金剛經咒」 (R I, 25, 289) (P I, 25, 490). After sitting down on Lady Wang’s kang, Jia Huan asks for a candle, rather fussily and pompously begins work. He keeps troubling the maids, calling them one by one, to attend to the tea or the candle.

All the maids hate him and ignore his requests, except for Sunset who has always been rather fond of him. Sunset pours him some tea, quietly advises him to be less bossy, saying that he shouldn’t keep giving orders in that bossy way. Jia Huan, with a scowl, tells her not to talk to him like a child, saying that he could see from watching Bao-yu and her together that Bao-yu is the one she likes.

Sunset grits her teeth and gestures with her finger over his head, saying that he is just like 「狗咬呂洞賓 -- 不識好歹。」, not recognizing sincerity when he sees it. (R I, 25, 289)

Fig. 3-9: NB45



As shown by the above, Hawkes carefully compares the editions and identifies the variants:

Hawkes notes that Gengchen has 「狗咬呂洞賓不識好人心」; (G II, 25, 556)

whereas Renmin has 「狗咬呂洞賓 -- 不識好歹。」; (R I, 25, 289)

These are slight variations of one idiom, meaning “ungrateful”.

Hawkes’ eventual translation is closer to Gengchen:

“You’re like the dog that bit Lü Dong-bin: you don’t know a friend when you see one.”

(P I, 25, 490)

3.1.7 Present at the Party: Old Hu and Old Cheng 老胡和老程他們 (Mon 14 Feb 1972) (Tue 15 Feb 1972) (NB61-2)

In Chapter 26, Xue Pan invites Bao-yu to enjoy the birthday presents he received.

Re Xue Pan’s statement on the source of his birthday presents, Gengchen mentions only one name whereas Qianchao and Renmin mention a couple of others. The different readings are as follows:

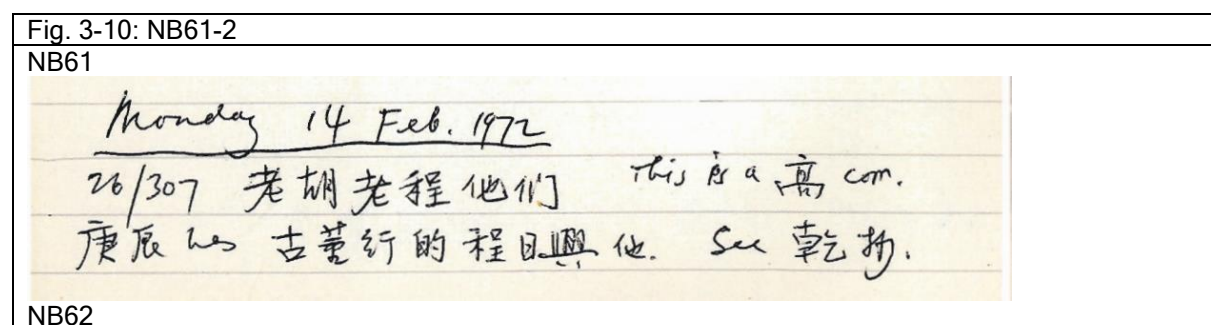
Renmin has 「老胡和老程他們」 (R I, 26, 307)

Gengchen has 「古董行的程日興他」 (G II, 26, 593)

Qianchao has 「古董行的程日興」 crossed out and

replaced with 「老胡和老程他們」 (Q I, 26, 301)

Hawkes remarks:



Tuesday 15 February 1972

Actually 高's corr. of 程日興 is an improvement. Xue Pan only lies out of self-interest, never from politeness; so when he says 「除我之外，惟你配吃」 he really means it. Then why are 詹光，程日興，胡斯來 and 單聘仁 all present at the party? The answer must be because they are all four donors of the ~~feast~~ feast (perhaps one of the four items comes from each of them). Hence 「老程和老胡他們」 best translated 'old Hu and old Cheng and a couple of the others'.

Monday 14 Feb. 1972

26/307 老胡老程他們 This is a 高 corr.

庚辰 has 古董行的程日興他. See 乾抄.

Tuesday 15 February 1972

Actually 高's corr. of 程日興 is an improvement. Xue Pan only lies out of self-interest, never from politeness; so when he says 「除我之外，惟你配吃」 he really means it.

Then why are 詹光，程日興，胡斯來 and 單聘仁 all present at the party? The answer must be because they are all four donors of the feast (perhaps one of the four items comes from each of them). Hence 「老程和老胡他們」 best translated 'old Hu and old Cheng and a couple of the others'.

As shown on NB61-2, Hawkes notes the different wordings and makes his decision between these based on his knowledge of Xue-Pan's character and his power of observation.

Hawkes writes on NB62 that Xue Pan never tells a lie to be polite, but only for his own advantage. So, Xue Pan's statement 「除我之外，惟你[還]配吃」 must be what he really thinks. The statement means: apart from himself, Bao-yu is the only one worthy of such a present. Based on what Xue Pan says, he should invite only Bao-yu to the party. However, there are four more people present.

The observant Hawkes, who always wants to know clearly 'who is where?', has doubts which he resolves as follows:

NB62: "Then why are 詹光，程日興，胡斯來 and 單聘仁 all present at the party? The answer must be because they are all four donors of the feast (perhaps one of the four items comes from each of them)."

Based on the above, Hawkes prefers 老胡和老程他們 to 古董行的程日興 as the source of Xue Pan's birthday presents, saying that:

NB62: "Hence 「老胡和老程他們 [老胡和老程他們]」 best translated 'old Hu and old Cheng and a couple of the others', (NB62).

The published translation is based on NB62:

「老胡和老程他們」 (R I, 26, 307)

"old Hu and old Cheng and a couple of the others" (P I, 26, 519)

In the translation, "a couple of the others" refers to 詹光 and 單聘仁, as these are the only two other donors, as all four are present in the party.

In the subsequent paragraph which lists the guests who are present in the party, Hawkes adds the incorporated footnote beside the names of the four guests as follows:

「詹光, 程日興, 胡斯來, 單聘仁等並唱曲兒的小子」 (R I, 26, 308)

"Zhan Guang, Cheng Ri-xing, Hu Si-lai and Dan Ping-ren (the four donors of the feast) and the young singer" (P I, 26, 519)

Based on the above, Hawkes thinks that the phrase 「老胡和老程他們」 is 高's correction, and that it "is an improvement" (NB62). 高 refers to Gao E 高鶚 who together with Cheng Weiyuan 程偉元 edited the first published version of *HLM*.

3.1.8 Better than Anything Else: Not eating lunch today 他不吃飯了 (Sat 16 Dec 1972) (NB80)

In Chapter 28, Bao-yu is telling his mother about the prescription which Xue Pan requested from him, and insists that Xue Pan has spent almost a thousand taels of silver assembling all the ingredients over two years.

Lady Wang is not convinced, Bao-yu asks his mother to ask Bao-chai (Xue Pan's sister) if she doesn't believe him. Bao-chai says she has no idea about this.

Dai-yu is sitting behind Bao-chai. Dai-yu smiles and runs her finger over her cheek, a gesture indicating that Bao-yu should be ashamed of telling lies.

Xi-feng happens to hear their conversation and confirms that Bao-yu is telling the truth.

Instead of turning to Bao-chai, Bao-yu turns to Dai-yu, saying that he hopes Dai-yu is not going to say that Xi-feng is lying, while winking at Bao-chai at the same time.

At that moment, a maid comes to fetch Bao-yu and Dai-yu to Grandmother Jia's place for lunch.

Feeling upset by Bao-yu's words, Dai-yu gets up and is about to leave with the maid. She doesn't want to go with Bao-yu. But the maid insists that she and Bao-yu come together. Dai-yu responds that Bao-yu is not eating lunch that day.

The different versions of Dai-yu's response are as follows:

Qianchao has 「他不吃飯了偕們走罷」 crossed out

and replaced with 「他不吃飯不和偕們走我先走了」 (Q I, 28, 323)

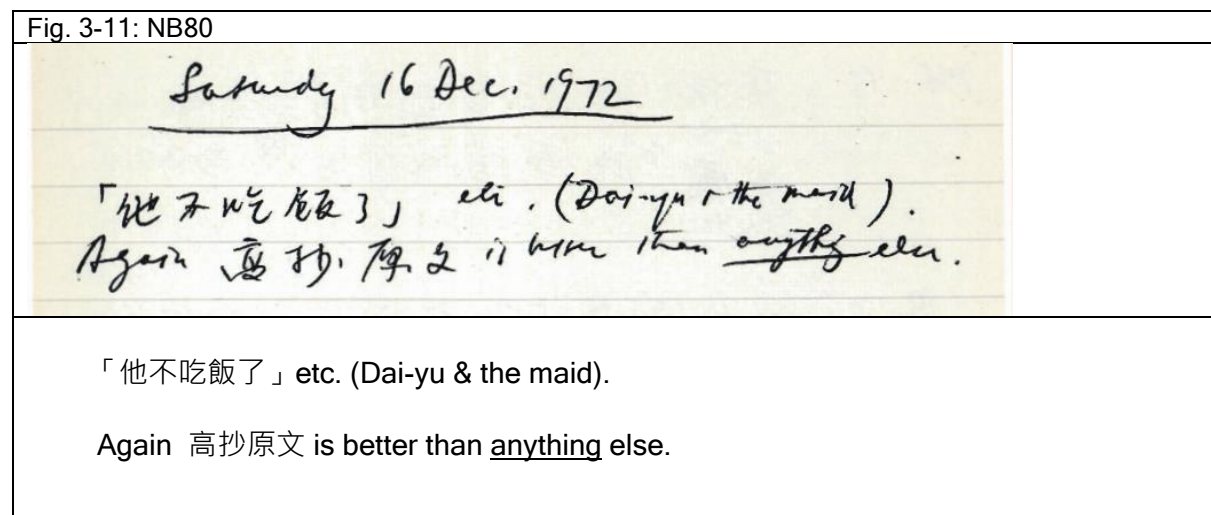
Gengchen has 「他不吃飯了偕們走我先走了」 (G II, 28, 631)

Renmin has 「他不吃飯, 不和咱們走, 我先走了。」 (R I, 28, 330)

Among the different versions, Gengchen and Renmin give 「我先走了」 (literally, I'll go first), whereas the original version of Qianchao 高抄原文 gives 「偕們走罷」 (literally, let us go),

which is consistent with the context of the story, as Dai-yu is suggesting going with the maid, not leaving by herself.

Re Dai-yu's replies to the maid, Hawkes notices the variants among the editions and remarks as follows: (NB80)



Hawkes remarks that “高抄原文 is better than anything else”, and translates accordingly as follows:

「他不吃飯了儋們走罷」 (高抄原文) (Q I, 28, 323)

“‘He’s not eating lunch today,’ said Dai-yu. ‘Come on, let’s go!’ “ (P II, 28, 48)

3.1.9 Good editing: All those years ago 那幾年 (Sun 6 May 1973) (NB107)

In Chapter 32, Aroma complains to Xiang-yun that she is becoming bashful with her now. In reply, Xiang-yun complains that Aroma is not close to her as she used to be.

Xiang-yun recalls the time 「你還記得那幾年」 when they were very good friends. The time during which Xiang-yun and Aroma used to share a small bed at Her Old Ladyship's and they used to talk at night in bed. Aroma recalls that Xiang-yun was not bashful then when they talked about marriage. (R II, 32, 381)

The expression of time varies among the texts:

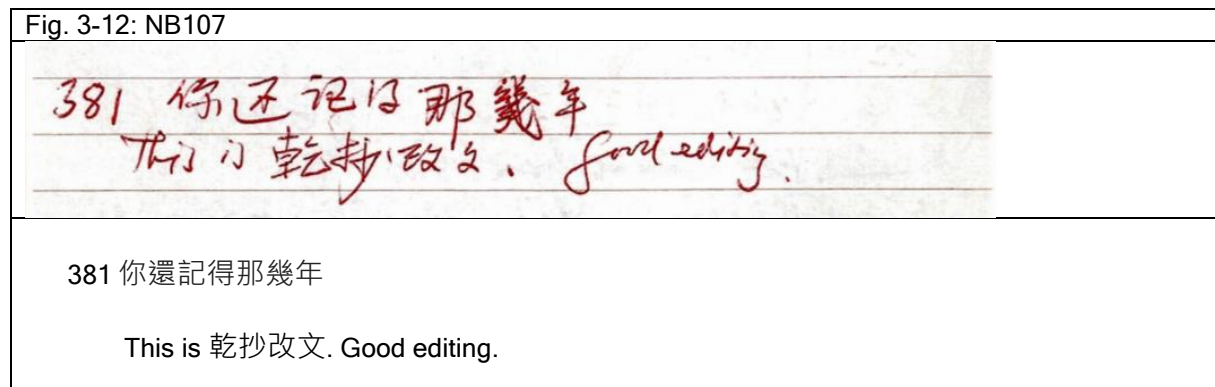
Gengchen has 「你還記得十年前」 (G II, 32, 721)

Qianchao has 「你還記得十年前」 crossed out and

replaced with 「你還記得那幾年」, which is also the reading in Renmin;

(Q I, 32, 369) (R II, 32, 381)

Hawkes writes the following regarding the expression of time:



Hawkes reckons that 十年前 (literally, ten years ago) is not quite right, as Aroma and Xiangyun would be too young to know what marriage is about. Hawkes remarks 那幾年 must be the editing done in Qianchao 乾抄改文 and praises this as “Good editing”.

Therefore, he follows the revised version and renders as follows:

「你還記得那幾年」 (R II, 32, 381)

“all those years ago” (P II, 32, 126)

3.1.10 Eager, not Reluctant: I'll go and get it now 等我取去 (Wed 13 Feb 1974) (NB136)

In Chapter 37, Bao-yu picks his first cassia flowers this year. Bao-yu arranges them in two vases, and gives one to Grandmother Jia and the other to his mother, Lady Wang.

When Ripple, Bao-yu's maid, brings the flowers to Lady Wang, she is with Xi-feng and Aunt Zhao, going through her collection of clothes, and the gift raises Lady Wang's prestige. This makes it impossible for Aunt Zhao (the concubine of Bao-yu's father), who is always resentful of Bao-yu, to criticize him. Lady Wang is delighted and rewards Ripple with two dresses.

Ripple feels very honoured but Skybright, another of Bao-yu's maids, unkindly remarks sarcastically that the dresses are just ones someone else wants to dispose of. Ripple says with pride that she is sure Lady Wang acts out of kindness and that is the only important thing.

When Musk hears that the cassia flowers given to Lady Wang are in a vase, she suggests getting it back. She argues that there is no problem leaving a vase in Grandmother Jia's room, but the one left in Lady Wang's might get broken, implying that Aunt Zhao is the danger, who might deliberately break it without Lady Wang noticing.

Musk is keen to get the vase back as soon as possible. Skybright at once volunteers to go.

Skybright's response varies among texts:

Gengchen has

「這話到是等我取去」 (G II, 37, 838)

(Literal Meaning: that's true, let me go to fetch it;

CC: Implying that Skybright realises the urgency of going, and makes an offer on her own initiative)

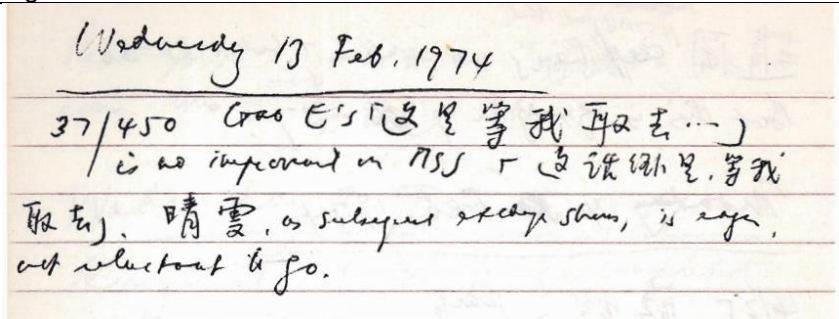
Qianchao has 「這話到是等我取去」 crossed out and replaced with 「這是等我取去」, which is also the reading in Renmin. (Q I, 37, 429) (R II, 37, 450)

「這是等我取去」

(Literal Meaning: That means I've got to go; Implying acting on instruction)

Hawkes notices the variant texts and writes the following re their conversation:

Fig. 3-13: NB136

 <p>Wednesday 13 Feb. 1974</p> <p>37/450 Gao E's 「这是等我取去...」 is an improvement on MSS 「这话到是等我取去」. 晴雯, as subsequent exchange shows, is eager, not reluctant to go.</p>	
<p>37/450 Gao E's 「这是等我取去...」</p> <p>is no improvement on MSS 「这话倒是·等我取去」.</p> <p>晴雯, as subsequent exchange shows, is eager, not reluctant to go.</p>	

Hawkes remarks that Gao E's alteration (as shown in Renmin) doesn't improve the original, given that later conversation shows that Skybright actually is very keen to go.

The details are shown in Renmin as follows:

「你們都得了，難道不許我得一遭兒嗎？」 (R II, 37, 450)

“You others have all had a go. Now it’s my turn.” (P II, 37, 229)

As shown in Renmin, in response to Skybright’s volunteering to go, Ripple wants to go again herself, and suggests that Skybright should get a saucer from Tan-chun instead. However, Skybright protests that she should have a chance to get a present from Lady Wang as everybody else already has.

Hawkes translates based on Gengchen:

「這是等我取去…」 (R II, 37, 450)

「這話到是等我取去」 (G II, 37, 838)

“‘You’re right,’ said Skybright, laying down her sewing. ‘I’ll go and get it now.’

(P II, 37, 229)

3.1.11 Blue and Green: Thousand League Eye 千里眼 (Thur 4 Apr 1974) (NB140)
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As the purification ceremonies are arranged at the temple of the Lunar Goddess, Grandmother Jia, Xi-feng and the girls go to the temple to watch the plays.

Hawkes notices the variant versions of the description of their visit.

Hawkes draws on Gengchen to replace a whole paragraph in Renmin with a more vivid and lively picture of the noisy and laughter-filled conversation of the maids inside the carriages and direct quotations of their protests.

The varied texts of Renmin and Gengchen are shown in the following.

Renmin:

「出門的媳婦子們，黑壓壓的站了一街的車。那街上的人兒是賈府去燒香，都站在兩邊觀看。那些小門小戶的婦女，也都開了門在門口站着，七言八語，指手畫腳，就像看那過會的一般。只見前頭的全副執事擺開，一位青年公子，騎着銀鞍白馬，彩轡朱纓，在那八人轎前領着那些車轎人馬，浩浩蕩蕩，一片錦綉香烟，遮天壓地而來。卻是鴉雀無聞，只見車輪馬蹄之聲。不多時，已到了清虛觀門口，只聽鍾鳴鼓响，早有張法官執香披衣，帶領眾道士在路旁迎接。寶玉下了馬，賈母的轎剛至山門以內，見了本境城隍土地各位泥塑聖像，便命住轎。」 (R I, 29, 344)

Gengchen:

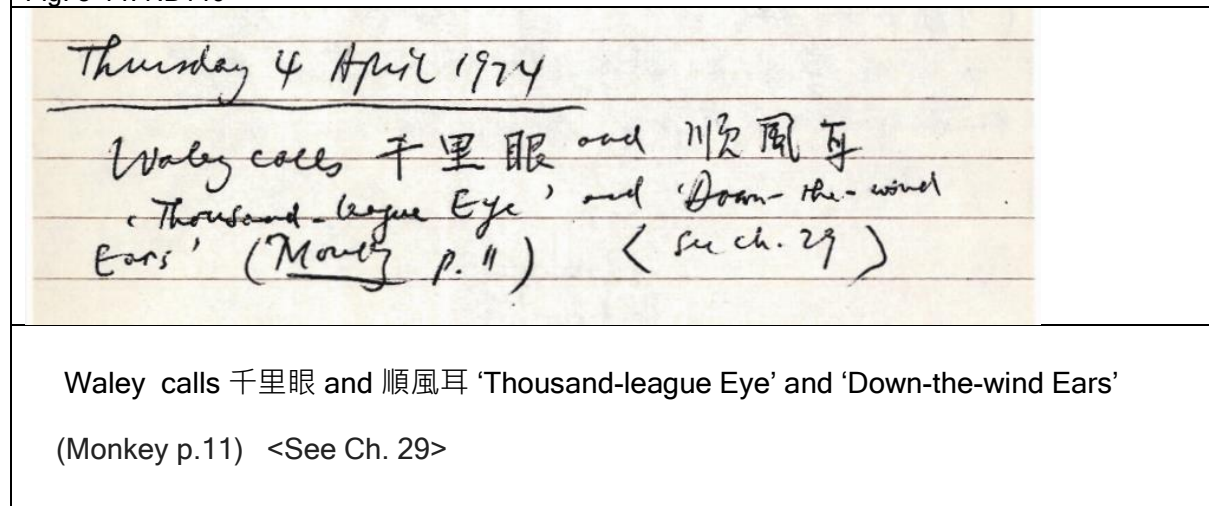
「出門的家人媳婦子烏壓壓的占了一街的車賈母等已經坐轎去了多遠這門前尚未坐完這個說我不同你在一處那個說你壓了我們奶奶的包袱 那邊車上又說蹭了我的花兒這邊又說碰折了我的扇子咕咕呱呱說笑不了周瑞家的過來過去的說道姑娘們這是街上看人笑話說了兩遍方覺好了前頭的全副執事擺開早已到了清虛觀了寶玉騎着馬在賈母轎前街上人都站在兩邊將至觀前只聽鐘鳴鼓響早有張法官執香披衣帶領眾道士在路傍迎接賈母的轎剛至山門以內賈母在轎內因看見有守門大師並千里眼順風耳當方土地本境城隍各位泥胎聖像使命住轎」 (G II, 29, 656)

Hawkes notes that the expressions 千里眼 and 順風耳 in Gengchen text are found in *Xiyouji*

西遊記. He refers to Arthur Waley's translation of *Xiyouji* 西遊記 under the title, *Monkey*.^{4, 5}

(NB140)

Fig. 3-14: NB140



Hawkes follows Gengchen, adding the colours blue and green:

「千里眼順風耳」 (G II, 29, 656)

“that equally ferocious pair, Thousand League Eye with his blue face and Favourable Wind Ear with his green one” (P II, 29, 71)

In the following, the Chinese text in Renmin and Gengchen are placed in parallel for ease of reference:

HLM (R II, 29, 344)	HLM (G II, 29, 656)	Stone (P II, 29, 70-71)
... 出門的媳婦子們， 黑壓壓的站了一街的 車。	... 出門的家人媳婦子 烏壓壓的占了一街的 車賈母等已經坐轎去	... and the women whose duty it was to act as duennas when the ladies of the household went out of doors. The street was packed with carriages as far as the eye could see in either direction, and Grandmother Jia's palanquin was well on the way to the temple before the last

<p>那街上的人見是賈府去燒香，都站在兩邊觀看。那些小門小戶的婦女，也都開了門在門口站着，七言八語，指手畫腳，就像看那過會的一般。只見前頭的全副執事擺開，一位青年公子，騎着銀鞍白馬，彩轡朱纓，在那八人轎前領着那些車轎人馬，浩浩蕩蕩，一片錦綉香烟，遮天壓地而來。卻是鴉雀無聞，只見車輪馬蹄之聲。</p> <p>不多時，已到了清虛觀門口，只聽鐘鳴鼓響，早有張法官執香披衣，帶領眾道士在路傍迎接。寶玉下了馬，</p> <p>賈母的轎剛至山門以內，見了本境城隍土地各位泥塑聖像，便命住轎。</p>	<p>了多遠這門前尚未坐完</p> <p>這個說我不同你在一處那個說你壓了我們奶奶的包袱 那邊車上又說蹭了我的花兒這邊又說碰折了我的扇子咕咕呱呱說笑不了</p> <p>周瑞家的過來過去的說道姑娘們這是街上看人笑話說了兩遍方覺好了</p> <p>前頭的全副執事擺開早已到了清虛觀了寶玉騎着馬在賈母轎前街上人都站在兩邊</p> <p>將至觀前只聽鐘鳴鼓響早有張法官執香披衣帶領眾道士在路傍迎接</p> <p>賈母的轎剛至山門以內賈母在轎內因看見有守門大師並千里眼順風耳當方土地本境城隍各位泥胎聖像便命住轎</p>	<p>passengers in the rear had finished taking their places.</p> <p>A confused hubbub of laughter and chatter rose from the line of carriages while they were doing so, punctuated by an occasional louder and more distinctly audible protest, such as: 'I'm not sitting next to you!' or, 'You're squashing the Mistress's bundle!' or, 'Look, you've trodden on my spray!' or, 'You've ruined my fan, clumsy!'</p> <p>Zhou Rui's wife walked up and down calling for some order: 'Girls! Girls! You're out in the street now, where people can see you. A little behaviour, please!' She had to do this several times before the clamour subsided somewhat.</p> <p>The footmen and insignia-bearers at the front of the procession had now reached the temple, and as the files of their column opened out to range themselves on either side of the gateway, the onlookers lining the sides of the street were able to see Bao-yu on a splendidly caparisoned white horse riding at the head of the procession immediately in front of his grandmother's great palanquin with its eight bearers.</p> <p>As Grandmother Jia and her party approached the temple, there was a crash of drums and cymbals from the roadside. It was the Taoists of the temple come out to welcome them, with old Abbot Zhang at their head, resplendent in cope and vestments and with a burning joss-stick in his hand.</p> <p>The palanquin passed through the gateway and into the first courtyard. From her seat inside it Grandmother Jia could see the terrifying painted images of the temple guardians, one on each side of the inner gate, flanked by that equally ferocious pair, Thousand League Eye with his blue face and Favourable Wind Ear with his green one, and farther on, the benigner forms of the City God and the little Local Gods. She ordered the bearers to halt,</p>
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3.1.12 The Quality of Tea: Dai-yu vs Bao-chai 黛玉 vs 寶釵 (Sat 31 Aug 1974) (NB151-2)

After tasting the tea which Adamantina offers to Bao-yu in Green Bower Hermitage, Bao-yu praises its delicate flavor.

Dai-yu asks whether the tea was made with the previous year's rain water.

「黛玉因問：『這也是舊年的雨水？』」 (R II, 41, 502)

Adamantina replies scornfully that she is disappointed Dai-yu cannot tell the difference. The tea was made with melted snow. (P II, 41, 315)

However, the sentence following Adamantina's reply to Dai-yu varies among texts.

Qianchao and Gengchen provide a response from Dai-yu to Adamantina, whereas Renmin gives a response from Bao-chai, as shown in the following:

HLM (Q II, 41, 474-5) (G III, 41, 932-3)	HLM (R II, 41, 502)
1. 黛玉因問這也是舊年的雨水	1. 黛玉因問：這也是舊年的雨水？
2. 妙玉冷笑道：...	
3. 黛玉知他天性怪僻不好多話亦不好多坐吃過*茶便約着寶釵走了出來	3. 寶釵知他天性怪僻,不好多話,亦不好多坐,吃過茶,便約着黛玉走出來。

*Note: 過 revised to 完 in Gengchen

Furthermore, in sentence 3, the versions differ in making Dai-yu the subject of the sentence and Bao-chai the person addressed, or vice versa.

As remarked by Hawkes on NB151-2, both sentences 1 & 3 (in the above table) should begin with 黛玉 (as shown in Qianchao and Gengchen), or both should begin with 寶釵:

Fig. 3-15: NB151-2

NB151

Saturday 31 August 1974
 41/502 「代玉因...」 「宝釵知...」 The
 variant on the latter raises the question whether but

NB152

*showed a 代玉: a but not a 宝釵. (Obviously
 one of the two must be wrong). Chap. 25 shows that
 Dai-yu was ~~was~~ fairly indifferent to the quality of
 tea (25/294)*

41/502 「代玉因...」 「宝釵知...」. The variant on the latter raises the question whether both should be 代玉 or both should be 宝釵. (Obviously one of the two must be wrong). Chap. 25 shows that Dai-yu was fairly indifferent to the quality of tea (25/294)

After examining the variant texts, Hawkes follows Qianchao and Gengchen and both sentences refer to Dai-yu:

HLM (Q II, 41, 474-5) (G III, 41, 932-3)	Stone (P II, 41, 314-5)
1. 黛玉因問這也是舊年的雨水	1. 'Is this tea made with last year's rain-water too?' Dai-yu asked her.
2. 妙玉冷笑道 ...	2. Adamantina looked scornful...
3. 黛玉知他天性怪僻不好多話亦不好多坐吃過*茶便約着寶釵走了出來	3. Dai-yu was too well aware of Adamantina's eccentricity to attempt a reply; and since it felt awkward to sit there saying nothing, she signalled to Bao-chai that they should go.

*Note: 過 revised to 完 in Gengchen

Hawkes remarks that this makes sense, Dai-yu is fairly indifferent to the quality of tea, as shown in Ch 25. Bao-yu remarks to Xi-feng that the tribute tea from Siam which Xi-feng delivered to him was rotten. Xi-feng agrees, saying that it isn't as good as the tea they normally drink. However, Dai-yu rather likes it, saying that their taste must be more refined than hers, as shown in the following:

「黛玉道：『我吃着卻好，不知你們的脾胃是怎樣的。』」 (R I, 25, 294)

“‘Oh, I quite liked it,’ said Dai-yu. ‘Your palates must be more sensitive than mine.’”

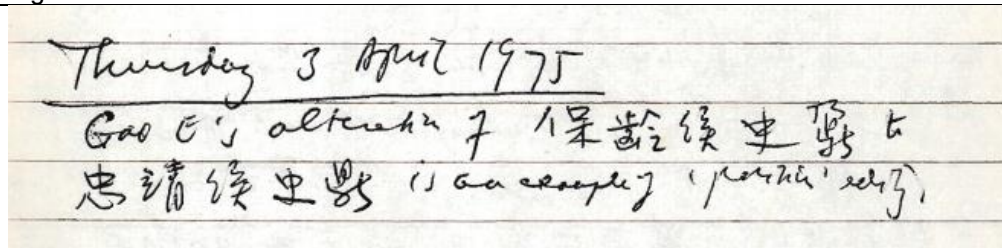
(P I, 25, 499)

3.1.13 Inconsistency: The Marquis of Zhong-jing 忠靖侯史鼎 (Thur 3 Apr 1975) (NB166)

Chapter 49 mentions that Xiang-yun's uncle, Shi Ding 史鼎, has been appointed to a distant province and has to take the family there. Xiang-yun has been living with her uncle, Shi Ding, since the death of her parents. Grandmother Jia misses her great grand niece, Xiang-yun, and keeps her in the family. So, Xiang-yun comes to live with the Jia family thereafter.

Regarding the title of Xiang-yun's uncle, Shi Ding 史鼎, Hawkes remarks on NB166 that the reading in Renmin shows Gao's 'positive editing'. Gao refers to Gao E 高鶚, the editor, (with Cheng Weiyuan 程偉元) of the Cheng Yi edition 程乙本 on which Renmin is based.

Fig. 3-16: NB166



Gao E's alteration of 保齡侯史鼎 to 忠靖侯史鼎 is an example of 'positive editing'.

Hawkes's remark is probably because he notices the inconsistent titles used for Shi Ding 「史鼎」 in Chapter 13 and Chapter 49 in the Gengchen edition.

忠靖侯史鼎 (G I, 13, 276)

保齡侯史鼎 (G III, 49, 1114)

In Chapter 13, both Gengchen and Renmin have the Marchioness of Zhong-jing, wife of Grandmother Jia's nephew Shi Ding, 「忠靖侯史鼎的夫人」, coming with his little niece, Shi Xiang-yun, to attend the funeral of Qin-shi of the Ning-guo Household.

(G I, 13, 276) (R I, 13, 148)

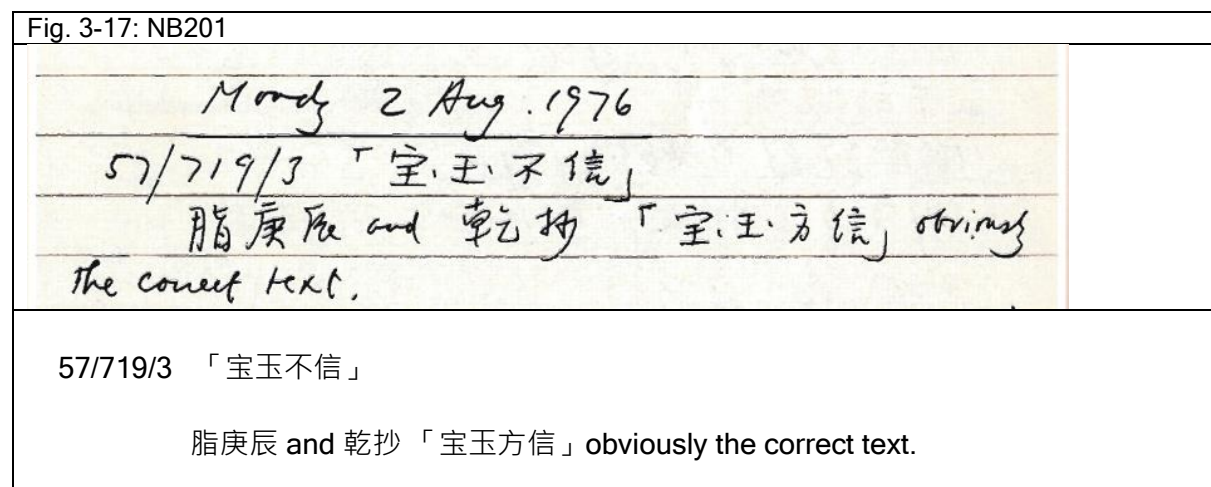
However, in Chapter 49, Shi Xiang-yun's uncle becomes 保齡侯史鼐 in Gengchen, whereas it is consistently 忠靖侯史鼐 in Remin. (G III, 49, 1114) (R II, 49, 601)

Accordingly, Hawkes follows Remin and uses the title "The Marquis of Zhong-jing" 「忠靖侯史鼐」 in Chapter 49 also. (P II, 49, 473)

3.1.14 Making Sense: Convinced 寶玉方信 (Mon 2 Aug 1976) (NB201)

Chapter 57 describes Bao-yu going with Lady Wang to visit Lady Zhen at the Zhens' town house. Bao-yu takes the opportunity to ask Lady Zhen whether it is true that, as he has heard, there is another Bao-yu at her home. Lady Zhen confirms that this is the case. With Lady Zhen's words, Bao-yu is finally persuaded 「寶玉方信」 that there is really another Bao-yu.

Hawkes writes on NB201:



Hawkes notes a contradiction between texts:

Qianchao and Gengchen have 「寶玉方信」 (Q II, 57, 663) (G III, 57, 1311)
(meaning: Bao-yu is convinced)

Remin has 「寶玉不信」 (R II, 57, 719)
(meaning: Bao-yu is not convinced)

Remin provides the opposite of the manuscripts' meaning, and gives an annotation as follows:

校記: 「宝玉不信」·脂本作「宝玉方信」

(R II, 57, 735)

(meaning : the Red Inkstone manuscripts have 「宝玉方信」

rather than 「宝玉不信」)

Hawkes remarks “「宝玉方信」 obviously the correct text”, because it makes sense in the context. Therefore, he renders accordingly based on Qianchao and Gengchen:

「寶玉不信」

(R II, 57, 719)

「寶玉方信」

(Q II, 57, 663) (G III, 57, 1311)

“Bao-yu was at last convinced.”

(P III, 57, 88)

3.2 Keeping track of the story and emendations

3.2.1 Now Restored to Him: Snuffers 蠟剪 (Tue 2 Jan 1973) (Thur 4 Jan 1973) (NB85)

In Chapter 29, the Jia family are on their way to the temple of the Lunar Goddess. When the palanquin arrives at the temple, Grandmother Jia is ready to get down from the carriage. Xi-feng hurries forward to assist her. At that particular moment, a little acolyte aged about eleven or twelve has been going round snuffing the candles. He is not aware of their arrival and bumps into Xi-feng.

Xi-feng gives him a hard smack on the face, while the other women scream encouragement.

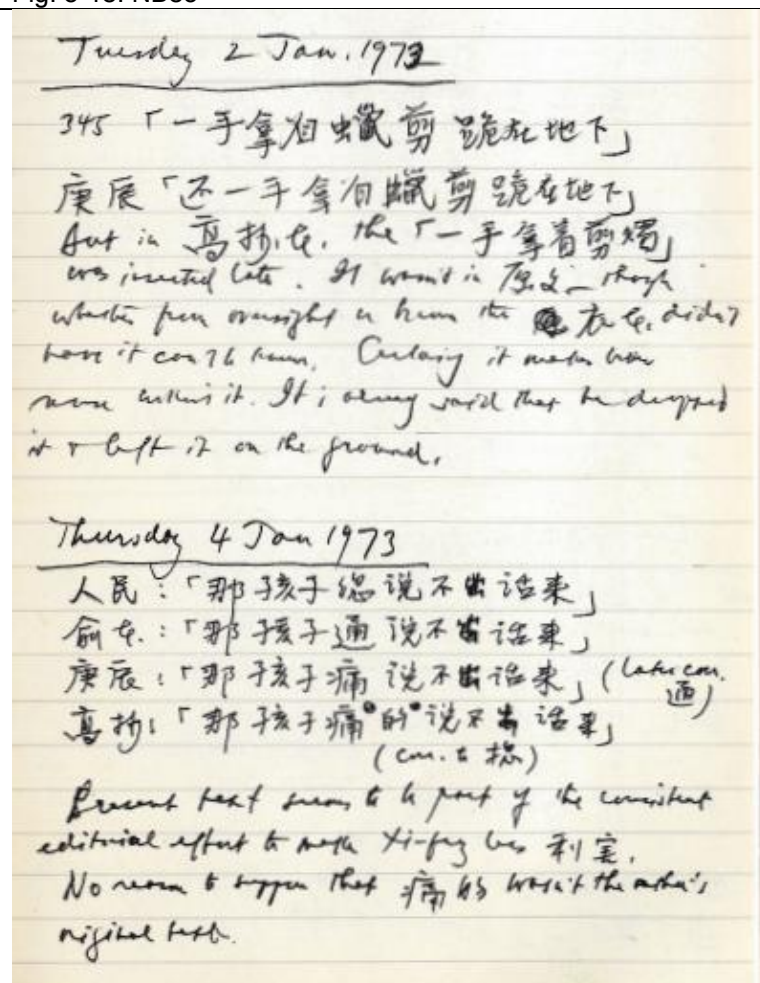
Grandmother Jia asks what it is about. When she hears what has happened, she expresses sympathy for the little acolyte, saying that they should not terrorise the little boy. She asks Jia Zhen to bring him to her, and to give him money.

When the boy comes, the Chinese texts give the following description:

「一手拿着蠟剪, 跪在地下」 (the boy kneels down in front of her, with the snuffers in his hand)

Hawkes notices inconsistencies in the Chinese text as follows:

Fig. 3-18: NB85



Tuesday 2 Jan. 1973

345 「一手拿着蠟剪跪在地下」

庚辰 「還一手拿着蠟剪跪在地下」

But in 高抄本, the 「一手拿着蠟燭」 was inserted later. It wasn't in 原文 --- though whether from oversight or because the 底本 didn't have it can't be known. Certainly it makes better sense without it. It's already said that he dropped it & left it on the ground.

Thursday 4 Jan 1973

人民: 「那孩子總說不出話來」

俞本: 「那孩子通說不出話來」

庚辰: 「那孩子痛說不出話來」 (later corr. 通)

高抄: 「那孩子痛的說不出話來」 (corr. to 搥)

Present text seems to be part of the consistent editorial effort to make Xi-feng less 利害.

No reason to suppose that 痛的 wasn't the author's original text.

As remarked by Hawkes, Chinese versions indicate that the acolyte has the snuffers in his hand:

Remin has 「一手拿着蠟剪, 跪在地下」 (R I, 29, 345)

Gengchen has 「還一手拿着蠟剪跪在地下」 (G II, 29, 657)

However, as shown in an earlier paragraph, the snuffers have fallen onto the ground while Xi-feng smacks the boy.

「那小道士也不顧拾蠟剪」 (R I, 29, 344) (G II, 29, 657)

“The little acolyte picked himself up and, leaving his snuffers where they had fallen”

(P II, 29, 72)

To reconcile the contradiction between these Chinese versions, the observant translator adds “the snuffers - now restored to him”

The Chinese text would have been translated as follows:

The boy knelt down in front of her with the snuffers in his hand.

Hawkes emends it as follows to make it consistent with the description in the text:

“The boy knelt down in front of her, the snuffers - now restored to him”

(P II, 29, 72)

In the subsequent description of the trembling boy who is unable to speak before Grandmother Jia, Hawkes lists the different choice of words in the various versions as follows:

人民：「那孩子總說不出話來」 (R I, 29, 345)

俞本：「那孩子通說不出話來」 (Y I, 29, 303)

庚辰：「那孩子痛說不出話來」 (later corrected 通) (G II, 29, 658)

高抄：「那孩子痛的說不出話來」 (corrected to 搥) (Q I, 29, 335)

Among the variant texts, Hawkes follows Qianchao 高抄 in preferring the word, 痛 (painful), that “the little boy’s mouth was hurting him too badly to speak” , with the following reasoning: (NB85)

“Present text seems to be part of the consistent editorial effort to make Xi-feng less 利害. No reason to suppose that 痛的 wasn’t the author’s original text.”

Hawkes’ rendering is consistent with the characterization of Xi-feng in *HLM*, who is portrayed as a fierce woman of cruel, cunning nature who exercises her power to bully the weak, and does not care about the feeling of others.

3.2.2 Age/Generation Confusion: Jia Zheng 賈政 (Sun 14 Jan 1973) (NB86-7)

In Chapter 29, in the conversation between Abbot Zhang and Grandmother Jia, Abbot Zhang says Bao-yu reminds him of Old Sir Jia, the father of Jia Zheng, the grandfather of Bao-yu. He further remarks that Bao-yu is exactly like his grandfather in appearance and behaviour.

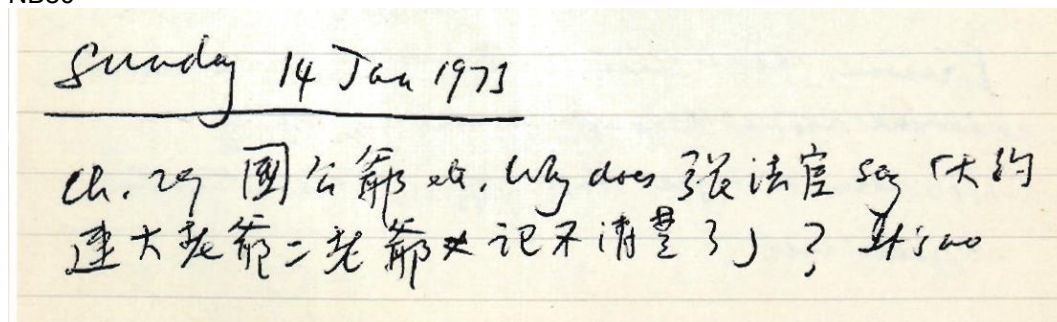
Grandmother Jia is in full agreement. She says Bao-yu is the only one of their offspring to resemble their grandfather.

Abbot Zhang says to Cousin Zhen that the people of his age would not have any memory of Old Sir Jia, and that he doesn’t think even Sir She and Sir Zheng can remember clearly their father, Old Sir Jia, in full figure. 「大約連大老爺、二老爺也記不清楚了罷？」 (R I, 29, 347)

Hawkes, with his constant memory for detail, points out that Chapter 29 is inconsistent with Chapter 33:

Fig. 3-19: NB86-7

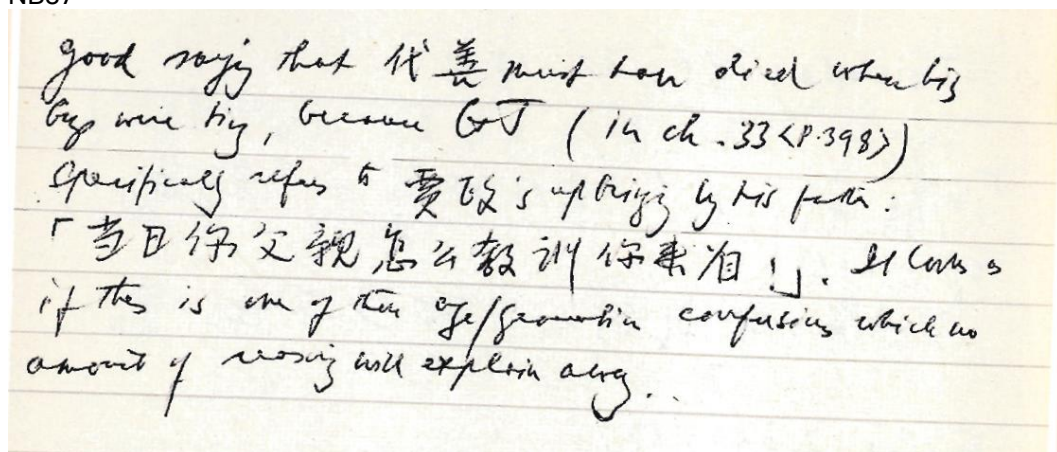
NB86



Sunday 14 Jan 1973

Ch. 29 國公爺 etc. Why does 張法官 say 「大約連大老爺二老爺也記不清楚了」? It's no

NB87



good saying that 代善 must have died when his boys were tiny, because GJ (in ch. 33 <p.398>) specifically refers to 賈政's upbringing by his father: 「當日你父親怎麼教訓你來着!」. It looks as if this is one of those age/generation confusions which no amount of reasoning will explain away.

Ch. 29 國公爺 etc. Why does 張法官 say 「大約連大老爺二老爺也記不清楚了」?

It's no good saying that 代善 must have died when his boys were tiny, because GJ (in ch. 33 <p.398>) specifically refers to 賈政's upbringing by his father: 「當日你父親怎麼教訓你來着!」. It looks as if this is one of those age/generation confusions which no amount of reasoning will explain away ...

Note: 代善 refers to Jia Zheng's father, 賈代善.

In Chapter 33, when Jia Zheng punishes Bao-yu by beating him hard with a rod, Grandmother Jia rebukes Jia Zheng, saying he claims to have acted in defence of family honour, but she doesn't think his own father would have acted that way.

Grandmother Jia asks Jia Zheng as follows:

「當日你父親怎麼教訓你來着!」

(R II, 33, 398)

“... did your own father ever punish you in such a way? - I think not.” (P II, 33, 151)

As shown on NB86 , Hawkes feels that 代善 can't have died when the boys were very young because Grandmother Jia mentions Jia Zheng being brought up by his father.

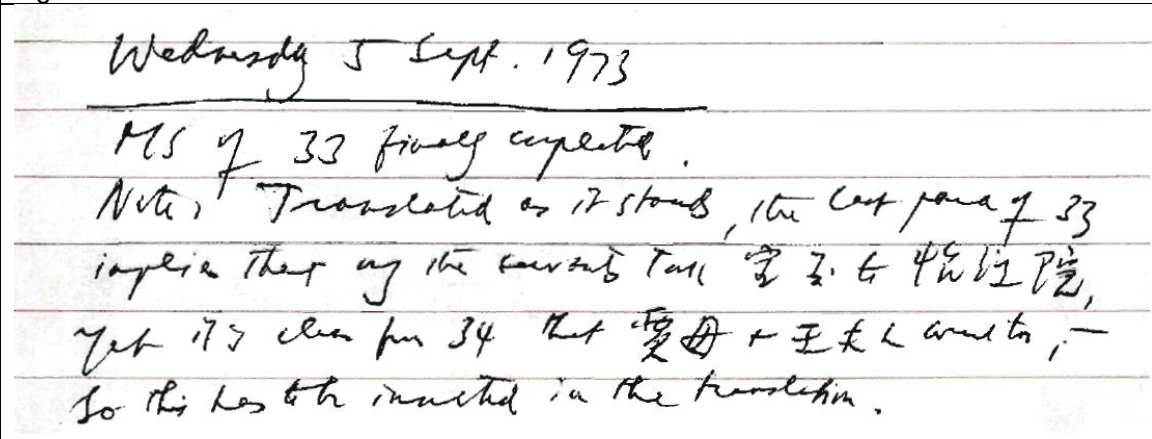
Despite his remarks, Hawkes translates the text as it is.

3.2.3 Who and Where: Grandmother Jia and Lady Wang went too 賈母王夫人等去 (Wed 5 Sept 1973) (NB115)

The end of Chapter 33 describes the aftermath of Bao-yu's beating by his father. After Grandmother Jia comes to his rescue, she orders the servants to carry him back to Green Delights.

Hawkes writes on NB115:

Fig. 3-20: NB115

 <p>Wednesday 5 Sept. 1973</p> <p>MS of 33 finally completed.</p> <p>Note: Translated as it stands, the last para of 33 implies that only the servants take 宝玉 to 怡红院, yet it's clear from 34 that 賈母 & 王夫人 went too, -- So this has to be inserted in the translation.</p>	<p>MS of 33 finally completed.</p> <p>Note: Translated as it stands, the last para of 33 implies that only the servants take 宝玉 to 怡红院, yet it is clear from 34 that 賈母 & 王夫人 went too, -- So this has to be inserted in the translation.</p>
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Based on NB115, and mindful as ever of the need to be clear as to ‘who was where’, Hawkes adds Grandmother Jia and Lady Wang in Chapter 33 (as highlighted below in yellow):

<i>HLM</i> (R II, 33, 400-401)	<i>Stone</i> (P II, 33, 154-155)
End of Chapter 33	
<p>賈母命：「好生抬到他屋裏去。」</p> <p>眾人一聲答應，七手八腳，</p> <p>忙把寶玉送入怡紅院內自己床上臥好，</p>	<p>Grandmother Jia was instructing the servants to carry him back to his own room.</p> <p>There was an answering cry and something of a scramble as many willing hands lifted up the cane bed.</p> <p>Then, preceded as before by Grandmother Jia, Lady Wang and the rest, they carried him through into the Garden and back to Green Delights, where they finally got him on to his own bed.</p>
Beginning of Chapter 34	
<p>襲人見賈母王夫人等去後，</p> <p>便走來寶玉身邊坐下，</p>	<p>When she saw that Grandmother Jia, Lady Wang and the rest had all gone, Aroma went and sat down at Bao-yu's bedside ...</p>

3.2.4 Word Order: And go founding temples 蓋起廟來供着 (Thur 31 Oct 1974) (NB158)

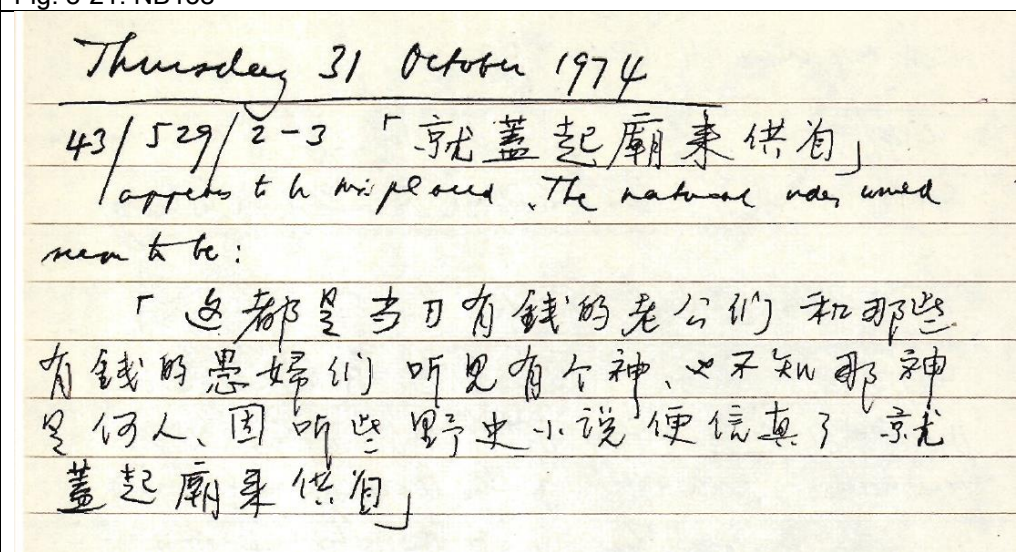
In Chapter 43, Bao-yu asks Tealeaf to go out with him. However, Bao-yu doesn't reveal what's in his mind. He is going to make his offering to Golden who has committed suicide by drowning herself in the well, following her dismissal by Lady Wang who had found that Bao-yu was flirting with her.

On the way, Bao-yu finds that he has to buy some incense. There doesn't seem to be any chance of finding any in this remote place. Tealeaf suggests borrowing an incense burner from the Temple of the Water Spirit, which is about two-thirds of a mile away.

Bao-yu normally would want to avoid a place like that. However, the notion of a water-goddess just happens to match exactly his present main concern. The reason why the Temple of the Water Spirit is so called is because the goddess of the river Luo 洛神 is supposed to be worshipped there. Bao-yu is happy to make use of it because of the way Golden died. Having

concluded his little ceremony and made his offering, Bao-yu asks Tealeaf to return the incense burner to the temple. They hurry back home.

Hawkes writes on NB158 as follows:

Fig. 3-21: NB158	
	
<p>43/529/2-3 「就蓋起廟來供着」 appears to be misplaced. The natural order would seem to be :</p> <p>「這都是當日有錢的老公們和那些有錢的愚婦們聽見有個神，也不知那神是何人，因聽些野史小說便信真了 就蓋起廟來供着」</p>	

Chapter 43 describes the reason why Bao-yu doesn't normally like the Temple. Ignorant people with money to spare just hear the name of a god mentioned and assume that they must exist and they found temples where these imaginary gods can be worshipped. This is described in Renmin:

「這都是當日有錢的老公們和那些有錢的愚婦們，聽見有個神，就蓋起廟來供着，也不知那神是何人，因聽些野史小說，便信真了。」 (R II, 43, 529)

Hawkes remarks that the sentence 「蓋起廟來供着」 “appears to be misplaced. The natural order would seem to be :

「這都是當日有錢的老公們和那些有錢的愚婦們，聽見有個神，也不知那神是何人，因些野史小說便信真了，就蓋起廟來供着」

Based on NB158, Hawkes accordingly changes the order of the Chinese text in his translation:

“Ignorant old men and women with too much money to spend hear the name of some god or other - they've no idea who it is, but the mere fact that they've heard it from the lips of some ballad-singer or story-teller seems to them incontrovertible proof of the god's existence - and go founding temples in which these fictitious deities can be worshipped.” (P II, 43, 357)

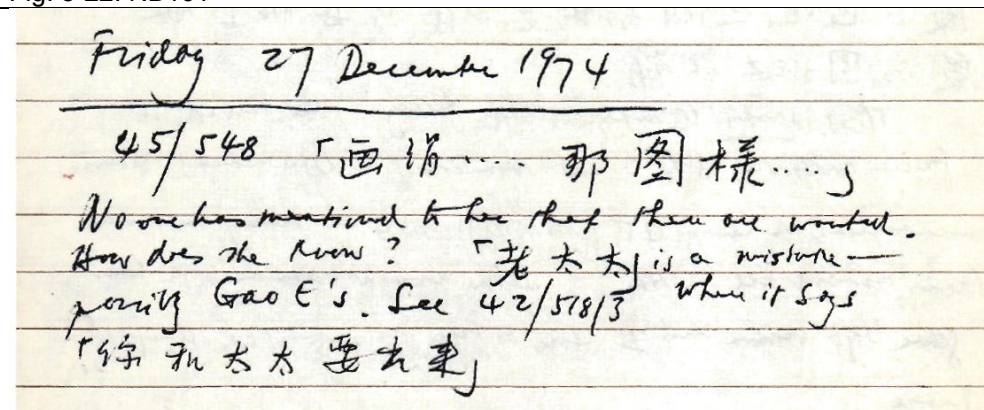
3.2.5 Old Lady or Lady: The architect's drawing isn't at Lady Wang's 那圖樣沒有在老太太那裏(Fri 27 Dec 1974) (NB161)

In Chapter 45, the girls come to ask Xi-feng regarding the materials that Xi-chun would need for her painting of the Garden, including the architect's drawing.

Xi-feng replies that 「那圖樣沒有在老太太那裏」 (R II, 45, 548)

Hawkes writes on NB161:

Fig. 3-22: NB161



45/548 「画絹 ... 那圖樣 ...」

No one has mentioned to her that these are wanted. How does she know?

「老太太」 is a mistake – possibly Gao E's. See 42/518/3 where it says

「你和太太要出來」

Hawkes remarks that 「老太太」 is an editor's error by Gao E. He refers to Chapter 42 in which Bao-chai suggests to Bao-yu that he should ask Lady Wang for that drawing 「你和太太要出來」.

(R II, 42, 518)

The detailed drawing was made in preparation for the construction of the Garden, giving accurate measurement of the layout.

Accordingly, Hawkes changes 老太太 to 太太 (Lady Wang):

「那圖樣沒有在老太太那裏」

(R II, 45, 548)

“The architect's drawing isn't at Lady Wang's”

(P II, 45, 388)

3.2.6 Three or Four: The four women then left 三人去了 (Tue 7 Jan 1975) (NB161)

When Xi-feng and Li Wan are talking with Old Mrs. Lai 賴嬤嬤, Lai Da's wife 賴大家的 comes in, followed by the wives of Zhou Rui 周瑞家的 and Zhang Cai 張材家的.

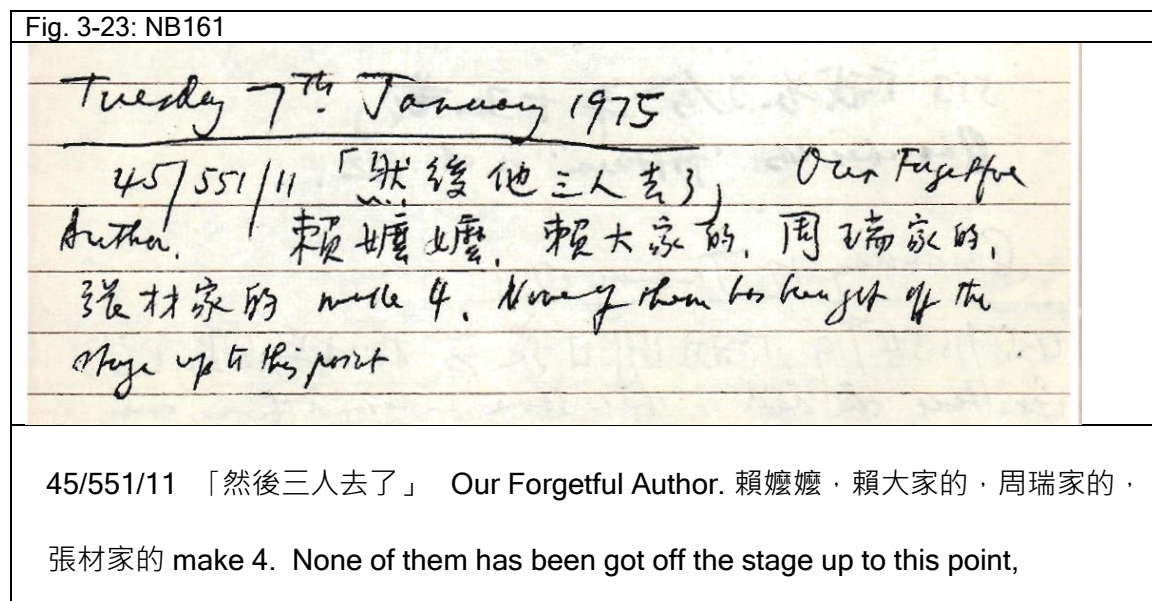
Old Mrs. Lai (Lai Da's mother) tells Xi-feng that because of her grandson's new job, his family is going to arrange a reception for three days running in order to show their family's appreciation for the Masters.

They leave after discussion. Renmin gives 三人去了.

(R II, 45, 551)

Somewhat as if he is the director of a play, Hawkes notices the inconsistency in the text and remarks on NB161:

Fig. 3-23: NB161



During the conversation, all four people (Old Mrs. Lai 賴嬤嬤, Lai Da's wife 賴大家的, the wives of Zhou Rui 周瑞家的 and Zhang Cai 張材家的,) should be there.

Thus, Hawkes edits 「三人去了」 as “The four women then left” (P II, 45, 394)

3.2.7 Timing again: Tomorrow 明日 (Sun 12 Jan 1975) (NB162-3)

In Chapter 45, Dai-yu's old sickness comes back twice a year following the spring and autumn equinoxes. Her coughing this autumn seems abnormal, particularly after Grandmother Jia's garden trips. Bao-chai pays her a visit and advises her to take bird's nest regularly which would be the best way to restore her strength. Dai-yu worries that preparing the bird's nest would be an additional burden to the others, though she herself thinks it's a good idea.

To make things easier, Bao-chai will ask her mother to send Dai-yu a few ounces of bird's nest, so that Dai-yu can get her maids to prepare it so the Jia family won't be troubled.

Bao-chai says to Dai-yu:

「我明日家去, 和媽媽說了」 (R II, 45, 554)

(meaning: Bao-chai will have a word with her mother 明日 (literally: tomorrow)

As the story goes, the bird's nest is delivered to Dai-yu's place that evening.

Based on the literal meaning of 明日 (i.e. tomorrow), there appears to be an inconsistency between what Bao-chai says and her action - Bao-chai says she will have a word with her mother “tomorrow” (明日), but she did it that evening.

Hawkes discusses the problem as follows:

Fig. 3-24: NB162-3

NB162

Sunday 12 January 1975
45/554/9 「我明日家去和媽媽說了」
In fact, she did it that same evening. There are

NB163

three possibilities: (1) Bao-chai said and meant 'tomorrow' but subsequently changed her mind;
(2) Cao Xueqin wrote and meant 'tomorrow' and then forgot about it and failed to correct it,
(3) 明日 means 'next time' or 'some time', in which case there is no problem.

45/554/9 「我明日家去和媽媽說了」

In fact, she did it that same evening. There are three possibilities:

- (1) Bao-chai said and meant 'tomorrow' but subsequently changed her mind;
- (2) Cao Xueqin wrote and meant 'tomorrow' and then forgot about it and failed to correct it.
- (3) 明日 means 'next time' or 'some time', in which case there is no problem.

Hawkes writes down the three possibilities and concludes that it would make good sense if 明日 simply means "next time" or "some time". So, his eventual translation reads:

「我明日家去, 和媽媽說了... 」

(R II, 45, 554)

"I shall have a word with Mother next time I see her about this."

(P II, 45, 399)

3.2.8 Probably an Afterthought: Tomorrow is Uncle Wang's actual birthday 明兒是正日子 (Sun 13 Jul 1975) (NB174-5)

Chapter 52 mentions that Bao-yu, on the first day of the birthday celebrations for Uncle Wang, accidentally burns the cloak which Grandmother Jia has given him that morning. It is the first time he puts on the cloak. Bao-yu's grandmother and mother have both said that he must wear the cloak the day after, which is Uncle Wang's actual birthday. 「明兒是正日子,老太太,太太說了,還叫穿過這個去呢!」

(R II, 52, 654-5)

Bao-yu is so worried to find a burn in the cloak, which, although small, is still very noticeable.

Hawkes writes on NB174-5 as follows:

Fig. 3-25: NB174-5

NB174

Sunday 13 July 1975
52/654 「明兒是正日子」. The actual birthday.
'Today' being merely the first day of a two-day birthday

NB175

celebration (cf. arrangements for 賈敬's birthday in chap. 10 §, T/223). Probably this is an afterthought of the author's at this point to explain why the cloak must be worn next day, since there is nothing to indicate it in the two earlier refs. in this chap. to the birthday (p. 646, p. 649). Any patching or explaining had better be done here.

52/654 「明兒是正日子」. The actual birthday. 'Today' being merely the first day of a two-day birthday celebration (cf. arrangements for 賈敬's birthday in chap. 10, T/223).

Probably this is an afterthought of the author's at this point to explain why the cloak must be worn next day. Since there is nothing to indicate it in the two earlier refs. in this chap. to the birthday (p. 646, p. 649). Any patching or explaining had better be done here.

As shown on p.646 (R II, 52, 646), Musk delivers Xi-feng's message to Bao-yu that Lady Wang wants him to attend Uncle Wang's birthday party the day after, and Musk asks Bao-yu what he is going to wear so she can be prepared in advance. Bao-yu says anything will do, and expresses his irritation that he's always having to attend birthday celebrations.

On p.649 (R II, 52, 649), Musk reports to Bao-yu the message from Lady Wang, that Lady Wang requests that he give her apologies to Uncle Wang and explains that she can't go herself because she is unwell.

So, Hawkes reckons that the following statement "probably ... is an afterthought of the author's at this point" Nevertheless, this does not mean that it should not go into the translation. Hawkes translates it as it is:

「明兒是正日子, 老太太, 太太說了, 還叫穿過這個去呢! 」 (R II, 52, 654-5)

"Tomorrow is his actual birthday. Grandmother and Mother have both said I must."

(P II, 52, 552)

As the story continues. Bao-yu really wants to find someone who can do the invisible repair before dawn the next day, but no one is willing to do it because the menders aren't familiar with the material and don't want to take the risk.

Skybright tells Bao-yu she can patch it up if he provides some peacock gold thread. Bao-yu knows there is nobody else among his maids who could manage the job.

To Bao-yu's amazement, Skybright, despite her sickness, struggles to stay up at night until 4 o'clock in mid-night to complete the mending. She is exhausted after the task, and flops down upon the bed. Bao-yu is very satisfied and says no one can see it was repaired unless they look very carefully.

3.2.9 Using the Passive: How doctors give prescription 出去開了藥 (Mon 4 Aug 1975) (NB176)

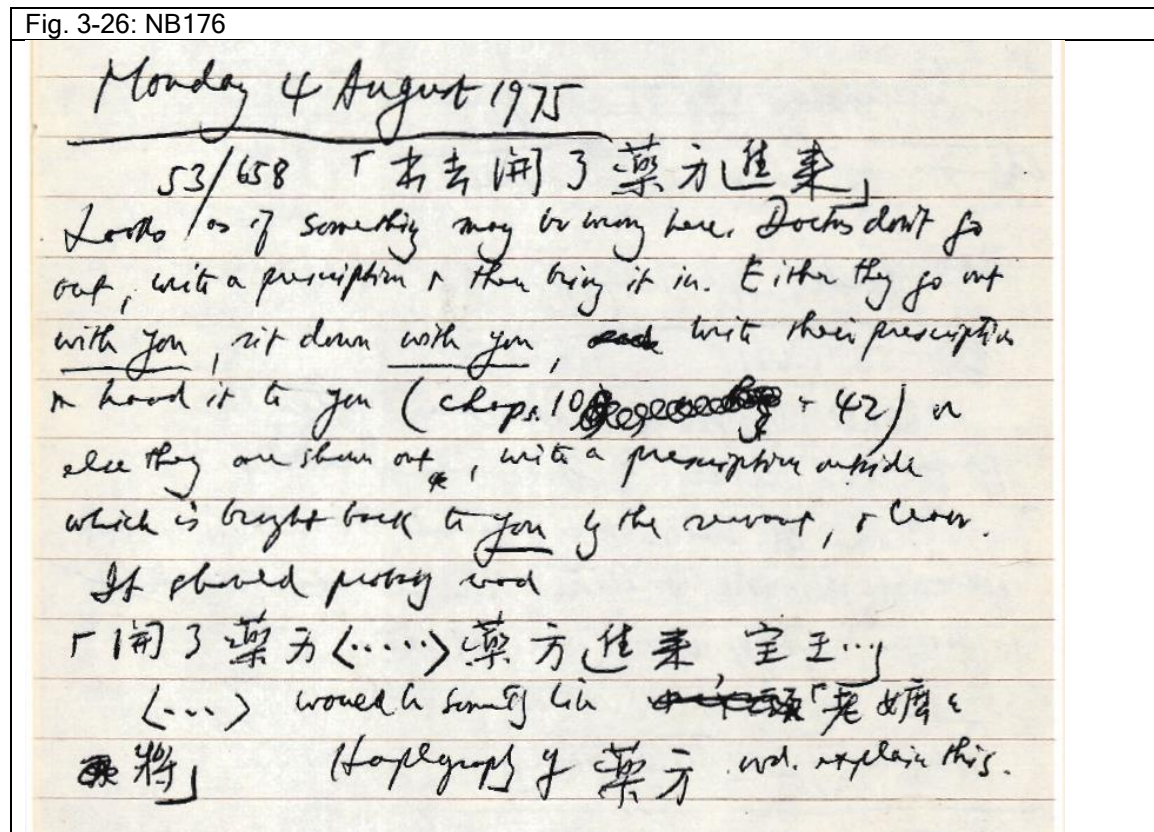
As mentioned in Section 3.2.8, Skybright is already sick and her condition becomes even worse after staying up the whole night mending Bao-yu's snowcape.

In Chapter 53, the first thing Bao-yu does when he gets up is to summon Dr. Wang.

After taking Skybright's pulses, Dr. Wang 「出去開了藥方進來」, which means, literally, the doctor goes out, writes a prescription and brings it in. (R II, 53, 658)

Hawkes writes on NB176:

Fig. 3-26: NB176



53/658 「出去開了藥方進來」 Looks as if something may be wrong here.

Doctors don't go out, write a prescription & then bring it in. Either they go out with you, sit down with you, write their prescriptions and hand it to you. (chaps. 10 & 42) or else they are shown out, write a prescription outside which is brought back to you by the servant, & leave.

It should probably read 「開了藥方〈……〉藥方進來· 宝玉 …」

〈……〉 would be something like 「老嫗嫗將」

Haplography of 藥方 would explain this.

Hawkes remarks that something is wrong with the expression, 「出去開了藥方進來」.

Hawkes refers to Chapter 10 and Chapter 42 for information on how the doctor goes about writing the prescription:

Chapter 10

After taking Qin-shi's pulses, the doctor proposes to go to the outside room to talk, Jia Rong, Qin-shi's husband, accompanies the doctor outside. They sit on the kang and talk. Jia Rong listens to the doctor's advice, then the doctor writes out a prescription and hands it to Jia Rong.

(R I, 10, 123)

Chapter 42

Grandmother Jia has caught a mild cold and summons Dr. Wang. After the consultation, Grandmother Jia thanks the doctor as he is leaving, and asks Cousin Zhen to get him some tea. Cousin Zhen conducts Dr. Wang to the gentlemen's room and seeks his advice. Then, Dr. Wang writes out a prescription for Cousin Zhen to pass it onto Grandmother Jia.

(R II, 42, 511)

Similar to the description in Chapter 10 and Chapter 42, Hawkes remarks on the doctor's method of giving their prescriptions as follows: (NB176)

“either they go out with you, sit down with you, write their prescriptions and hand it to you. (chaps. 10 & 42) or else they are shown out, write a prescription outside which is brought back to you by the servant, and leave.”

Accordingly, Hawkes prefers 「開了藥方〈……〉藥方進來· 宝玉 …」. instead of 「出去開了藥方進來」 in Remin. It would make better sense if the prescription is brought in by someone else, instead of by the doctor himself. The space marked 〈……〉 would be something like the old servants. However, the servants may not be able to deliver the doctor's message. So,

Hawkes humorously remarks that haplography (incorrectly writing a word once instead of twice) of 藥方 would explain it.

Based on Renmin, 「出去開了藥方進來, 宝玉看時」 would have been translated as follows:

Dr. Wang went outside, wrote a prescription and brought it in. Bao-yu noticed that ...

Hawkes cleverly puts the verb, 'brought' into the passive:

“He went outside and wrote another prescription, which was presently brought in to Bao-yu. Bao-yu noticed that ...” (P II, 53, 555)

3.2.10 Our Forgetful Author: Aunt Zhao had already left 那時趙姨娘已去 (Fri 25 Jun 1976) (NB196)

In Chapter 55, when Tan-chun and Li Wan get back to their office, Wu Xin-deng's wife brings the news of the death of Zhao Guo-ji, Aunt Zhao's brother. Tan-chun orders her to give twenty taels for the funeral, based on previous practice.

Aunt Zhao, Tan-chun's natural mother, comes to accuse Tan-chun of not giving an additional twenty or thirty taels for her brother's funeral expenses. Tan-chun replies that she cannot break the rules.

Aunt Zhao is continuing to complain when Patience suddenly arrives. Patience says Xi-feng has heard about the death and wants to make sure she knows what to give. The rule is only twenty but she can increase it a bit if she wants. However, Tan-chun replies that she is certainly not going to be responsible for changing the established practice. While they are talking, Bao-chai comes to join in the discussion until lunch is ready.

At this point, Renmin (p. 699) gives 「那時趙姨娘已去」 (R II, 55, 699)

In the 4 previous pages (p.695-699) describing the conversation between Bao-chai, Tan-chun, Li Wan and Patience, there is no further mention of Aunt Zhao who has been arguing with Tan-chun.

On NB196, Hawkes criticizes 曹 (Cao Xueqin) for sometimes forgetting the presence of a particular character, and suggests that he has done this for Aunt Zhao. Hawkes believes that this sentence 「那時趙姨娘已去」 was simply added to cover up for Cao's forgetting that Aunt Zhao was still there as there was no plausible way she would have left, unless, as he humorously adds, "by a window" (NB196). Details as follows:

Fig. 3-27: NB196

<p>Friday 25 June 1976</p> <p>Ch. 55/699 「那時趙姨娘已去」 A typical weakness in 曹's narration. One suspects that there was an earlier version in which he simply forgot about AZ & this sentence was added later to account for her absence. But really, when could she have gone? And how? (By a window?)</p>	<p>Ch. 55/699 「那時趙姨娘已去」 A typical weakness in 曹's narration.</p> <p>One suspects that there was an earlier version in which he simply forgot about AZ and this sentence was added later to account for her absence.</p> <p>But really, when could she have gone? And how? (By a window?)</p>
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Nevertheless, Hawkes renders as it is:

「那時趙姨娘已去」

(R II, 55, 699)

"By this time, Aunt Zhao had already left."

(P III, 55, 60)

3.2.11 Inconsistency: When did I ever do such a thing? 我多早晚給人看來 (Fri 9 Dec 1977) (NB 219)

In Chapter 64, after Dai-yu has composed five poems about beautiful or intelligent women in history, she just leaves them on the table. Bao-yu comes to visit her and sees the poems.

Bao-yu is demanding to be allowed to read them while Bao-chai arrives, and she asks what they are talking about. Dai-yu says that Bao-yu has asked to read her poems. She adds that would be no problem, except that she is afraid he may copy them out and share them with others.

Bao-yu makes an angry protest and asks whether he has ever done such a thing:

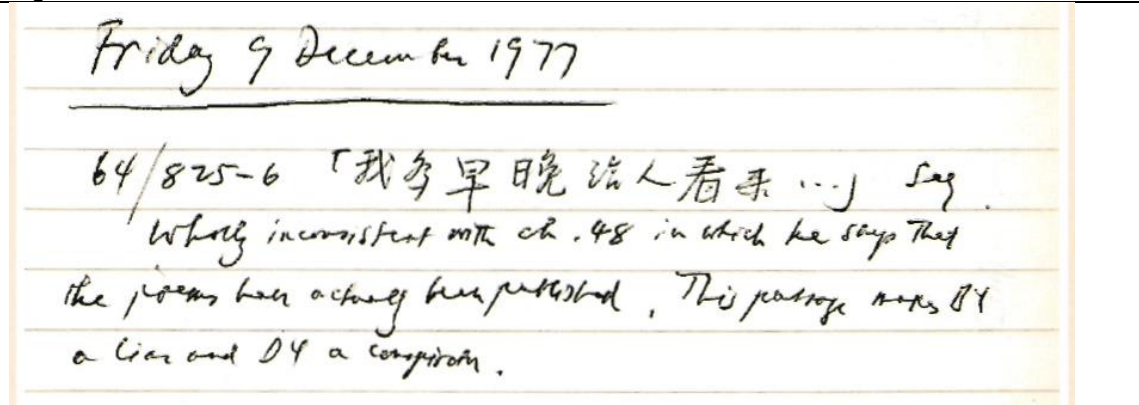
「我多早晚給人看來...」 (R III, 64, 825)

“When did I ever do such a thing?” (P III, 64, 256)

Bao-yu continues to explain that he has only copied the poems from the Crab-flower Club onto a fan so he can read them at anytime.

Hawkes remarks on NB219:

Fig. 3-28: NB219


<p>64/825-6 「我多早晚給人看來...」 Seq.</p> <p>Wholly inconsistent with ch.48 in which he says that the [Crab-flower Club] poems have actually been published. This passage makes BY a liar and DY a conspirator.</p>

In Chapter 48, Bao-yu tells Dai-yu that his father's literary gentlemen have asked to see some of their poems from the Poetry Club. Bao-yu writes some out from memory, and the gentlemen themselves then have them printed, as shown in the following:

「他們抄了刻去了。」 (R II, 48, 593)

“... they have calligraphed them for blocks to have them printed.” (P II, 48, 461)

So, as remarked by Hawkes on NB219, the passage 「我多早晚給人看來...」 in Chapter 64 does show Bao-yu lying and Dai-yu conspiring.

This illustrates Hawkes's ability to retain details in his memory very well so he can detect any inconsistency in the text many pages later.

Notes:

1. Wu Shih-Ch'ang (Shichang). *On the Red Chamber Dream: A Critical Study of Two Annotated Manuscripts of the XVIIIth Century*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961. (CASGLIAD-1198)

Wu Shichang 吳世昌 (1908-1986), a graduate of Yenching University in English. He soon established a reputation in China as a scholar of Chinese poetry and epigraphy, teaching in various universities in China before moving to Queen's College, Oxford in 1948. He stayed there for 15 years before returning to China. Among the doctoral students he supervised was an American officer, General Samuel B. Griffith (1906-1983), who completed his thesis on Sun-zi in 1961.

Wu's book was very well-received, being the first important work on textual studies of *HLM* written in English. It makes use of the Zhiyan Zhai annotated manuscripts in an attempt to solve complex textual problems and the identity of author(s). The book clarifies issues on who the author(s) and the commentator (Zhiyan Zhai) are. Wu argues that the final chapters are not by Cao Xue-qin. However, his conclusions remain controversial. He was involved in many disputes with his fellow expert on *HLM*, Zhou Ruchang 周汝昌.

Wu corresponded regularly with the British Sinologists, including Hawkes and Joseph Needham. Wu and Xiong Shiyi (S.I.Hsiung) 熊式一, two leading Chinese literary figures in Oxford, assisted by their wives, frequently offered hospitality to young people with an interest in China.

2. Fan Shengyu 范聖宇 and John Minford "The Story of the Stone's Journey to the West: the History of the English Translations of *Honglouloumeng*", In *The Routledge Handbook of Chinese Translation*. Edited by Chris Shei and Zhao-Ming Gao. New York: Routledge, 2018. pp. 374-387.
3. Mathews, Robert Henry, op. cit. (Chapter 2, note 51), pp. 99, 301 & 713.
4. Wu Cheng'en 吳承恩. *Xiyouji* 西遊記. Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1962.

Xiyouji 西遊記, believed to be the work of the late Ming writer, Wu Ch'eng-en (c. 1500-1582), was one of The Four Classical Chinese Novels, together with *The Story of the Stone* 紅樓夢, *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* 三國演義, and *Water Margin* 水滸傳. It is one of the best-loved classical Chinese novels.

The popularity of *Xiyouji* 西遊記 in the English-speaking world is largely because of the successful abridged translation produced by Arthur Waley under the title, *Monkey*. A complete translation by Anthony Yu under the title, *The Journey to the West*, came out in 1983.

This comic fantasy novel tells the story of the famous monk, Xuanzang 玄奘 (596-664), or Tripitaka, who visited India in the seventh century in search of Buddhist scriptures. Its 100 chapters blend religious allegory with satire.

Tripitaka's companions are Sun Wu-kong 孫悟空, the magical, cunning monkey who

Arthur Waley calls simply Monkey, and Zhu Ba-jie 朱八戒, the pig distinguished by his laziness and greed. Tripitaka is constantly attacked by demons who want to eat him in the hope of acquiring his immortality. He is usually rescued by Monkey who is sometimes assisted by other disciples and other deities. The work is rich in rhetorical devices and the dialogue between the characters has an attractive, strong colloquial flavor. It is both a literary tour de force, and a very effective satirical commentary on Chinese society at the time.

5. Wu Cheng'en 吳承恩. *Monkey*. Translated by Arthur Waley. London: Readers Union, 1944.

Arthur David Waley (1889 -1966) was at the same time an artist, a scholar and a poet. The son of a barrister, Waley was brought up in London and studied at Rugby school, entering King's College, Cambridge on a scholarship in 1907. Although he achieved a First in Part I of the Classical Tripos, he was unable to proceed with Part II because of problems with his sight.

Waley worked in the British Museum for eighteen years (1913-1930), as an Assistant Keeper in the Department of Prints and Drawings. He was mainly responsible for compiling the catalogue of paintings brought back from Dunhuang by Sir Aurel Stein, which was published in 1931. He taught himself Chinese and Japanese, yet never visited either country.

Waley worked mainly on Japanese literature during the period 1920 to 1930s, and his *The Tale of Genji* is regarded as one of the greatest translations ever.

In 1930, Waley left the British Museum so as to devote himself fully to classical Chinese studies, producing works such as *The Way and its Power*, and *The Analects of Confucius*, etc. He also produced studies of Chinese painting, and during the Second World war, brought out *Monkey*, his adaptation of *Xiyouji* 西遊記.

Waley had a particular interest in Chinese poetry. He was, as Hawkes pointed out, a poet in his own right who numbered major poets of his time, including Yeats, Eliot and Pound among his friends. Waley studied various Chinese poets including Bai Juyi, Li Bai, and Yuan Mei, providing translation of their works. His 1918 publication of *A Hundred and Seventy Chinese Poems* introduced a new branch of literature to the English speaking world.

He was the author of over thirty full-length monographs, in addition to numerous articles. His versions of *Genji* and *Monkey* are frequently regarded as classics of English literature, comparable to the works of Lord Berners (1467-1533), Dryden, etc.

The *Arthur Waley Anniversary Volume*⁶ is a festschrift presented to Arthur Waley on his seventieth birthday, in which Hawkes produces a vivid portrait of *Xi Peilan*, Yuan Mei's favourite poetess. The Anniversary Volume includes, in particular, discussions of Waley's achievement as a translator by scholars who themselves specialized in translation. It demonstrates the extent and importance of his unique contribution to Sinology.

With *The Tale of Genji* finished, the publisher, Allen & Unwin, approached Waley regarding the translation of *HLM*, but he turned this down, saying that he did not want to tackle a second long novel. He did translate a Section of Chapter 56 of *HLM*, in which Bao-yu meets another Bao-yu (R II, 56, 715-716) as part of the Preface he wrote to Wang Jizhen (Chi-chen)'s 1929 abridged translation of the whole work.

In his foreword to Wu Shichang's "*On the Red Chamber Dream: a critical study of two annotated manuscripts of the XVIII th Century*" published in 1961, Waley stated that he was an enthusiastic admirer of *HLM*. He had been reading *HLM* for about forty years, but found that Wu's book had given him answers to questions which had long been in his mind. Waley thought, for example, that Wu had plausibly argued that Red Inkstone "Zhiyan Zhai", the name added to many annotations in the manuscript, was the author, Cao Xueqin's uncle.

6. Hawkes, David. "Hsi P'ei Lan" (Xi Peilan), in *Arthur Waley Anniversary Volume. Asia Major*, New Series, Vol. VII, London: Lund Humphries, 1959, pp. 113-121.

4 Summary: What constitutes the achievement of *The Story of the Stone*

The *Stone* has been widely praised as a milestone in the development of Chinese-English translation. The translation has succeeded in the seemingly impossible task of making this great Chinese literary masterpiece fully-accessible to English-speaking readers for the first time. Hawkes and Minford have been able to turn the original text into what is essentially a new work, communicating with new readers in terms of their own, very different culture. They were able to achieve this thanks to their own thorough familiarity with Chinese language and culture, including the Chinese classics, in particular, and also because of their deep knowledge of European cultures and literary traditions.

The success of the *Stone* as a great example of the translators' art is attributed to their creative translation approach, coupled with their meticulous textual editing. Both as a literary translation and as a work of scholarship, their achievement sets a standard against which future works will be judged. This chapter summarizes the factors contributing to that achievement, factors which are very much in evidence throughout the *Notebooks*.

4.1 Breadth of linguistic talent

Hawkes received in school a thorough grounding in Latin and a little ancient Greek which he then went on to study at Oxford. He subsequently studied Japanese during the Second World War. Afterwards, he studied Chinese at Oxford (1945-1947), and then did postgraduate work at Peking University (1948-1951). He was a fluent reader and speaker of Chinese. He was also competent in several modern European languages, including French and Italian, and in retirement embarked on the study of Welsh. This multi-lingualism, together with his ability to exploit fully the resources of his own native language and literature, produced results of a very high quality. In addition to his publications in English, Hawkes published in Chinese ¹ and French as well. ²

Hawkes' multi-lingualism is manifested in his creative approach to the challenges of Chinese names, a recurrent issue in translating Chinese novels, as Hawkes pointed out in the 1998 interview. ³ The problem is particularly acute with *HLM*, in view of the length of the novel and its vast number of characters. For example, names of characters such as Jia Zheng, Jia Zhen, and Jia Jing, are confusingly similar for English readers. So, Hawkes decides to divide the characters up into different categories using different languages. The Chinese names of members of the Jia family are retained in romanisation, e.g. Jia Zheng 賈政, Lady Wang 王夫人, etc. English names are given to servants, e.g. Aroma 襲人, Skybright 晴雯. Latin names,

e.g. Sapientia 智能, are given to religious functionaries, and French names, e.g. Parfumée 齡官, are given to actresses. In this way, readers will be able to know what categories they belong to, just by looking at the language of the names (see Section 2.3.2) (NB74)

Quite apart from the names, there is an abundance of expressions from languages other than English (e.g. Latin, Greek, French and Italian) embedded in Hawkes' translation and in his *Notebooks*.

Hawkes, while working on his who's who among the many maids, comes across one of the names which occurs only once in one of the editions, describing it as "a hapax phenomenon" (NB129), and on another occasion, he settles on his choice, "but faute de mieux" (NB115), in the lack of anything better.

In Chapter 9, Qin Zhong becomes good friends with a girl at school. Jokey Jin, the school bully, overhears their conversation and mockingly insists that he has caught them "in flagrante delicto", claiming that they are kissing each other. Hawkes uses the Latin expression, "in flagrante delicto" (a legal term meaning caught red-handed), to highlight the exaggeration of Jokey Jin's accusation. (P I, 9, 209)

In Chapter 26, Skyright, in a bad temper, complains about Bao-chai behind her back when she pays a visit to Bao-yu late in the evening, Hawkes uses the Italian phrase, sotto voce, to refer to the quietness of the comment that Skybright makes, complaining that visitors are coming up with pretexts to visit Bao-yu, which results in her staying up very late. (P I, 26, 524)

In Chapter 58, Hawkes describes You-shi as exempted from her duty because she is "enceinte", a French term meaning 'pregnant'. (P III, 58, 117)

Hawkes points out in Chapter 54 the confusion of names in variant texts, and tries to figure out who needs to be escorted back home after the mid-night party. Together with other factors he takes into account, he points out that Jia Huan and Jia Cong are 'in statu pupillari' (Latin expression meaning in the status of a student) and therefore warrant an escort. (NB190)

4.2 Literary traditions of China and the West

Hawkes' understanding of Chinese culture was grounded in his own deep and thorough mastery of his European one. His familiarity with both Chinese and European culture enables him to identify many parallels. For example, in his article, "The supernatural in Chinese poetry",⁴ which includes a translation of 李賀 Li He's poem, Shenxianqu 神仙曲, into English, he points out that both in that poem and Botticelli's painting "Birth of Venus", mythology is used simply for aesthetic effect rather than to make a religious and philosophical point.

His wide-ranging familiarity with both Chinese and western culture is shown in his rendering of 巡海夜叉 (a Buddhist expression referring to sea demons) and 鎮山太歲 (associated with one of the outlaws in the vernacular classic, *Shuihuzhuan* 水滸傳). Having deciphered the Chinese expression, he comes up with corresponding English terms of his own invention, “Terror of the Seas”, and “Scourges of the Mountains”. Both these names give similar connotation as in the Chinese text, echoing the devastating power of Attila the Hun, Scourge of God. (see Section 2.1.27) (NB192)

4.2.1 Reference to Greek and Latin literatures

Hawkes is able to show his mastery of both the Chinese and English languages and also the literary traditions of both languages between, which, for him, there is no barrier.

He was widely acknowledged as an immensely learned man, and his translation owes much to his great knowledge of Latin, Greek and English literature. He has been compared to another great translator, Arthur Waley, who, like him, was a traditional English gentleman educated in the classics (Latin and Greek), but also able to range over the entire field of Chinese literature.

In his translation, there are frequent allusions to classics in English and other European literatures, all of which have a foundation in Latin and Greek traditions.

4.2.1.1 The Naiad’s House

In translating Dai-yu’s house, 瀟湘館, Hawkes chooses between the names of two nymphs in Greek mythology. A Dryad is a tree nymph, whereas Naiads are water nymphs. Hawkes settles on Naiad’s House, since Dai-yu’s house 瀟湘館 is named after two rivers in Hunan Province, the Xiao 瀟 and the Xiang 湘. Also, the reference to Naiad is particularly appropriate because Dai-yu, the incarnation of the Crimson Pearl flower, is brought to life by the Stone who waters her every day, and she is determined to return her debt to the Stone with her tears.

4.2.1.2 Lachrymae Rerum

In Chapter 5, Bao-yu has a dream in which the wine that he is given by the fairies is named “Lachrymae Rerum” (literally, tears of things). This is an allusion to one of the famous lines in Virgil’s *Aeneid* (1.462) where Aeneid is moved by seeing pictures of the destruction of his own city. “Lachrymae Rerum” alludes to the classical and romantic sense of longing and regret for the golden age and people of the past.

Like the *Aeneid*, the *Stone* is reminiscent of bygone days, as illustrated by the fairies' song-and-dance suite, A Dream of 'Golden days'. On this basis, Hawkes subtitles Volume 1 of the *Stone* as "The Golden Days".

4.2.1.3 Explicit prima pars lapidis Historiae

Each volume (1-4) of the *Stone* concludes with a Latin expression, as shown, for example, at the back of Volume 1:

"EXPLICIT PRIMA PARS LAPIDIS HISTORIAE" (Here ends the first part of the Stone history)

(P I, 26, 525)

4.2.1.4 Greensickness Peak

Hawkes skillful rendering of the puns in *HLM* is illustrated by Minford in his 1980 article, 'Pieces of Eight', ⁵ with details as follows:

According to the mythic introduction in Chapter 1, the abandoned Stone was first found at 青埂峯 Qing-geng peak.

Red Inkstone, the commentation on the manuscript of *HLM*, remarks that qing-geng 青埂 (Green Ridge) is an example of the author's frequent use of puns, to allude to a deeper meaning. 青埂 is a homophone of the expression 情根 (Root of love), used as a pun.

As shown in the *Jiaxu* 甲戌 annotation of *HLM*, the Stone is found not fit to repair the sky because of his root of love 自謂落墮情根，故無補天之用 (as shown in Fig. 4-1)

Hawkes renders 青埂峯 as Greensickness Peak.

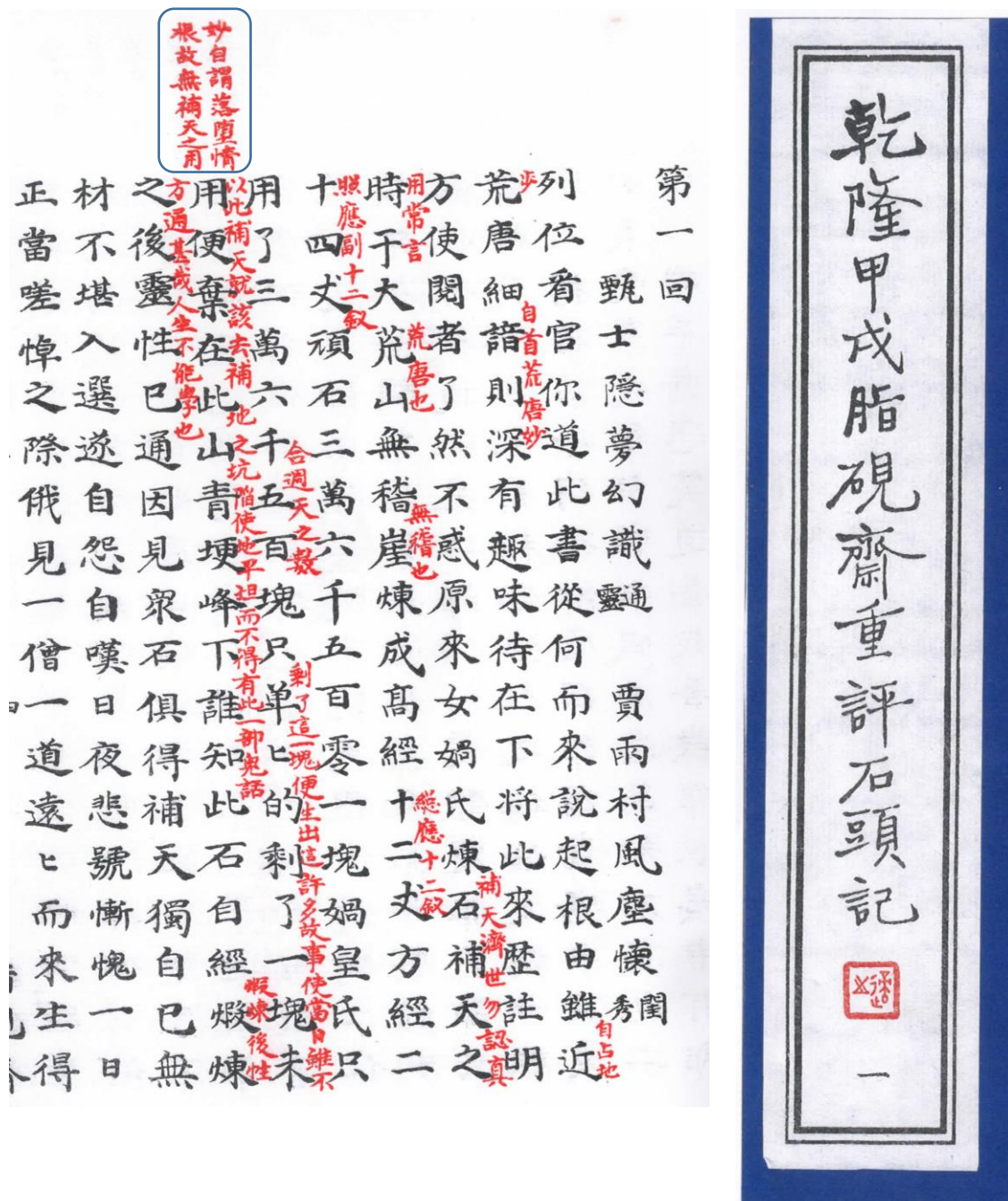
Greensickness (or Chlorosis) describes an illness which supposedly affects particularly adolescent women and turns their face greenish. In other words, greensickness is equivalent to lovesickness which is essentially Dai-yu's condition.

The word Greensickness recalls a famous line from Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, another famous tale of love thwarted by fate, which parallels the tragic story of Bao-yu and Dai-yu. Juliet's father, Capulet scolds Juliet for refusing to marry Paris whom he has chosen for her (Act 3, scene 5): "Out you greensickness carrion, out you baggage." ⁶

青埂峯 Greensickness Peak is the place where the Stone was found, and the name suggests a connotation with themes of love, disenchantment and enlightenment which are central to the story of the Stone's incarnation.

By rendering 青埂峯 as “Greensickness Peak”, Hawkes manages to capture precisely the combination of word-play, literary sophistication and the philosophising that characterize the original.

Fig. 4-1 : Cao Xueqin 曹雪芹. *Qianlong Jiaxu Zhiyanzhai chongping Shitouji* 乾隆甲戌脂硯齋重評石頭記. Tinajin: Tianjin guji, 2013, p.5. ⁷



4.2.2 Command of French

The study of Latin and Greek provided Hawkes with an excellent foundation for the later study of other languages. It made him more linguistically sophisticated and provided a particularly good foundation for romance languages. It is not surprising that Hawkes was able to read *Dante* in Italian, *Balzac* in French, and *Don Quixote* in Spanish.

Hawkes was particularly accomplished in French. He was particularly at home in French culture, perhaps even more so than in his British one.

On NB109, while working on the dramatic scene of Bao-yu's love declaration to Dai-yu, he quotes the 1929 French psychological novel by Jean Cocteau, "*Les enfants terribles*", which deals with the growing up of two adolescents. He consults works in French, listing citations in French on NB5 and NB142.

Hawkes once gave a lecture on *HLM* in French, which was translated into English as "The Story of the Stone: A Symbolist Novel" ²

4.2.3. Mastery of English language and literature

4.2.3.1 Proficiency in English language

Hawkes' superb command of English produces a highly readable English version of the *Stone*. He is an excellent manipulator of the English language, and is able to use an impressively wide range of vocabulary.

4.2.3.1.1 In the translation, the wide variety of language used ranges from that of the literary elite of the Jia family to the vulgar words of the servants, and the dialectal speech of people in between. Hawkes captures the liveliness of the characters using earthy language with felicity, giving the right tone in informal but elegant English. Many examples can be cited. For example, Grandmother Jia addresses Bao-yu soothingly, "my lamb", when he is scared by his father who has summoned him. Bao-yu's father rebukes his son as an 'Ignoramus', "Jackanapes", "Ignorant young puppy", etc.; Ni Er remarks roughly, "Make my blood boil. Damn fella!"; Dai-yu, who is breathless with laughter at Grannie Liu's childish rhyme, utters "Ayos".

4.2.3.1.2 The *Notebooks* shows the evidence of how Hawkes makes specific changes to the original text and selects vocabulary which best suits the English readers. He chooses to translate 鑊鎗頭 simply as leaden counterfeit rather than literally as pewter counterfeit because pewter would not suggest softness in the minds of the English readers. (see Section 2.2.1)

4.2.3.2 Reference to English Literature

In the *Stone*, allusions to the canon of English literature abound. Hawkes demonstrates an excellent command of the literary tradition of both languages, Chinese from which he translates, and English to which he translates.

4.2.3.2.1 Shakespeare

In Chapter 26, Bao-yu teases Nightingale, Dai-yu's maid, quoting from *Western Chamber*,

「若共你多情小姐同鴛帳，怎捨得叫你疊被鋪床？」 (R I, 26, 306)

"If with your amorous mistress I should wed,

'Tis you, sweet maid, must make our bridal bed." (P I, 26, 517)

This is sung by Scholar Zhang in *Western Chamber*, expressing his hope to get married with the maid's mistress, Ying-ying.

Bao-yu's quotation hints at the possibility of himself marrying Nightingale's mistress, Dai-yu. However, Hawkes renders it as "bridal bed", a phrase which is Shakespearean in tone. It is a slightly ominous phrase as it has echoes of *Romeo and Juliet* (Act 3, Scene 5)⁸, in which Juliet is pleading with her mother not to be angry over her refusal to marry Paris, the husband her father has chosen for her. Hawkes' choice of "bridal bed" again foreshadows the tragic ending of Dai-yu's early death in the story.

4.2.3.2.2 Wordsworth

In Chapter 27, on her way to visiting Dai-yu, Bao-chai changes her mind, heads back towards the other girls, and notices two butterflies "fluttering and dancing on the breeze" (P II, 27, 25)

This phrase is a clear allusion to Wordsworth's poem, "I wandered lonely as a cloud", in which the daffodils are similarly described as "dancing in the breeze".⁹

Hawkes' borrowing from Wordsworth fits the context well.

4.2.4 Knowledge of Japanese

Hawkes studied classics at Christ Church from 1942 for a year before being recruited to learn Japanese in London to join the war effort at his early 20s. His flair for oriental languages led to his becoming an instructor in Japanese during the Second World War.

His proficiency in Japanese, which was the first Asian language he studied, enables him to use the Japanese-Chinese dictionary, *Morohashi*, one of the most comprehensive reference books on Chinese idioms, particularly as found in Chinese literature. (see Section 2.1.13) (NB74) He

also consults the index to *HLM* expressions, *Kōrōmu goi sakuin* 紅樓夢語彙索引 compiled by a Japanese lexicographer, Miyata Ichirō 宮田一郎. (see Section 2.1.25) (NB163-4)

Also, Hawkes makes frequent reference to *Kōrōmu* 紅樓夢, the Japanese translation of *HLM* by Itō Sōhei 伊藤漱平, though he does not always agree with Ito's interpretation.

4.2.5 Chinese language and Chinese literature ³

Hawkes was interested in oriental culture as a schoolboy. He read, for example, *The Importance of Living* 生活的藝術 by Lin Yutang 林語堂, and Arthur Waley's *Monkey* 西遊記. After war service, he began the formal study of Chinese at Oxford in October, 1945. The Oxford syllabus at that time was devoted entirely to classical Chinese, to works such as the *Five Classics* and *Four Books*, 四書五經 including *The Great Learning* 大學, *The Analects of Confucius* 論語, *The Book of Songs* 詩經, and *The Ritual Classic* 禮記, etc. However, this was insufficient for Hawkes, and after graduation in November 1947, he went to Peking University without even waiting for the result of his application for the prestigious Scarborough Scholarship. He learned of his success in the application a few weeks after arriving in Beijing. Before Hawkes left for China, he started to read some vernacular stories, such as *Shuihuzhuan* 水滸傳 and some stories by Lu Xun 魯迅. Also, he read some Tang poems with Wu Shichang 吳世昌, author of *On the Red Chamber Dream: a critical study of Two Annotated Manuscripts of the XVIIIth Century*, who was then a new teacher of Chinese at Oxford. ¹⁰

Hawkes' time in Beijing had the greatest formative influence on him. His teachers included celebrated scholars of the older generation such as the *HLM* expert, Yu Pingbo 俞平伯 (1899-1990), the phonologist, Luo Changpei, 羅常培 (1899-1958), and the two specialists on *Chuci* 楚辭, Tang Lan 唐蘭 (1900-1979) and Lin Geng 林庚 (1910-2006). These scholars were instrumental in preparing him for his later role as translator of both *Chuci* 楚辭 and *HLM* 紅樓夢.

In the *Notebooks*, which often include Chinese phrases of his own, we find numerous examples which illustrate Hawkes' profound knowledge of Chinese language and literature. This

contributed to his ability to decipher the secret message of *HLM* through identifying a whole range of literary allusions, puns and symbols which encompass the encyclopedic range of Chinese civilization. Examples are the translation of riddling expressions such as *bi ding ru yi* 筆錠如意 and *ji qing you yu* 吉慶有餘; his decoding of the Chinese dominoes in connection with quotations derived from over a millennium of Chinese literary genres, including plays, poetry and lyrics; his rendering with felicity the dialogue of characters ranging from the literary elite to the humble servants with their differing registers; his resourcefulness in referring to a wide range of authorities and significant primary sources in Chinese as he finds solutions to the puzzles he comes across in the translation process. With his informed findings, he enhances the readability of the story by embedding explanations of Chinese culture in his English version. This is discussed in detail in the following sections.

4.3 Reference to a wide range of literary and other sources

Hawkes the translator was also an invisible bibliographer in that he assembled a wide range of reference materials during the translation process. He did not attempt to produce a list of the works he consulted in the study of this classic work, but this is now possible with the *Notebooks* and the catalogue of the CASGLIAD. The *Notebooks* illustrate the literary concerns of Hawkes. Owing to the length and complexity of *HLM*, and owing to the translator's exhaustive research, the extensive range of reference and literary materials covered makes the *Notebooks*, on their own, a treasure trove for research into translation in general and *HLM* in particular.

The wide variety of reference sources cited in the *Notebooks* ranges from authoritative works such as *Peiwen Yunfu* 佩文韻府, *Morohashi* 大漢和辭典, *Bencao gangmu* 本草綱目; Classics on Chinese philosophy such as *Zhuang-zi* 莊子; Bibliographies such as *Index Sinicus* by John Lust, *Honglouloumeng shulu* 紅樓夢書錄 by Yi Su 一粟; Anthologies such as *Quan Tangshi* 全唐詩, *Quan Songshi* 全宋詩, *Guwen Guanzhi* 古文觀止, *Tang shi ji shi* 唐詩紀事 by Ji Yougong 計有功; Dictionaries such as *Guoyu cidian* 國語辭典, Mathews' *Chinese-English Dictionary*, the Index to *HLM* expressions, *Kōrōmu goi sakuin* 紅樓夢語彙索引 by Miyata Ichirō 宮田一郎; Specialized works such as *Xinding yapai shu* 新定牙牌數 by Yu Yue 俞樾; works by *HLM* scholars such as *Honglouloumeng xin zheng* 紅樓夢新證 by Zhou Ruchang 周汝昌, *Honglouloumeng suoyin* 紅樓夢索隱 by Wang Mengruan 王夢阮 and Shen Ping'an 沈瓶庵; translations of Chinese works including the English translations of *HLM* by Wang Jizhen

(Chen-chi), the Japanese translation of *HLM*, *Kōrōmu*, by Itō Sōhei 伊藤漱平, and the English translation of *Xiyouji* 西遊記, *Monkey*, by Arthur Waley; the works of internationally-known sinologists such as Joseph Needham, Bernard Emms Read, Schuyler Cammann, Mary Tregear, Stewart Culin, Édouard Chavannes, Nozaki Nobuchika 野崎誠近, as well as museum curators, librarians, and even the proprietor of an Oxford sports shop.

4.3.1 Multilingualism

Hawkes's multilingualism is manifested in his ability to use authoritative reference tools in a variety of languages. These are primary sources available only in their native languages with no translation available. These sources are mostly in English, Chinese and Japanese, with some works in French and Latin, etc.

Hawkes' multilingualism can be illustrated by the way he decodes riddling expressions. For example, to interpret the riddling expressions, *bi ding ru yi* 筆錠如意 and *ji qing you yu* 吉慶有餘, Hawkes draws on over a dozen sources in Chinese, English, French, and Japanese, combining input from scholars and sinologists all over the world, covering around 8 pages of the *Notebooks* (NB20-NB28).

He collects multiple listings of symbols in traditional Chinese culture, all of which are well-illustrated with elaborate diagrams. His sources include a Japanese work, *Kisshō zuan kaidai* 吉祥圖案解題 by Nozaki Nobuchika 野崎誠近; an English work, *Chinese folk designs: a collection of 300 cut-paper designs used for embroidery together with 160 Chinese art symbols and their meaning* by Wills M. Hawley, and Chinese titles such as *Zhongguo tu'anji* 中國圖案集 Wang Duan 王端 and *Minjian lanyin huabu tu'an* 民間藍印花布圖案 by Lin Hanjie 林漢傑.

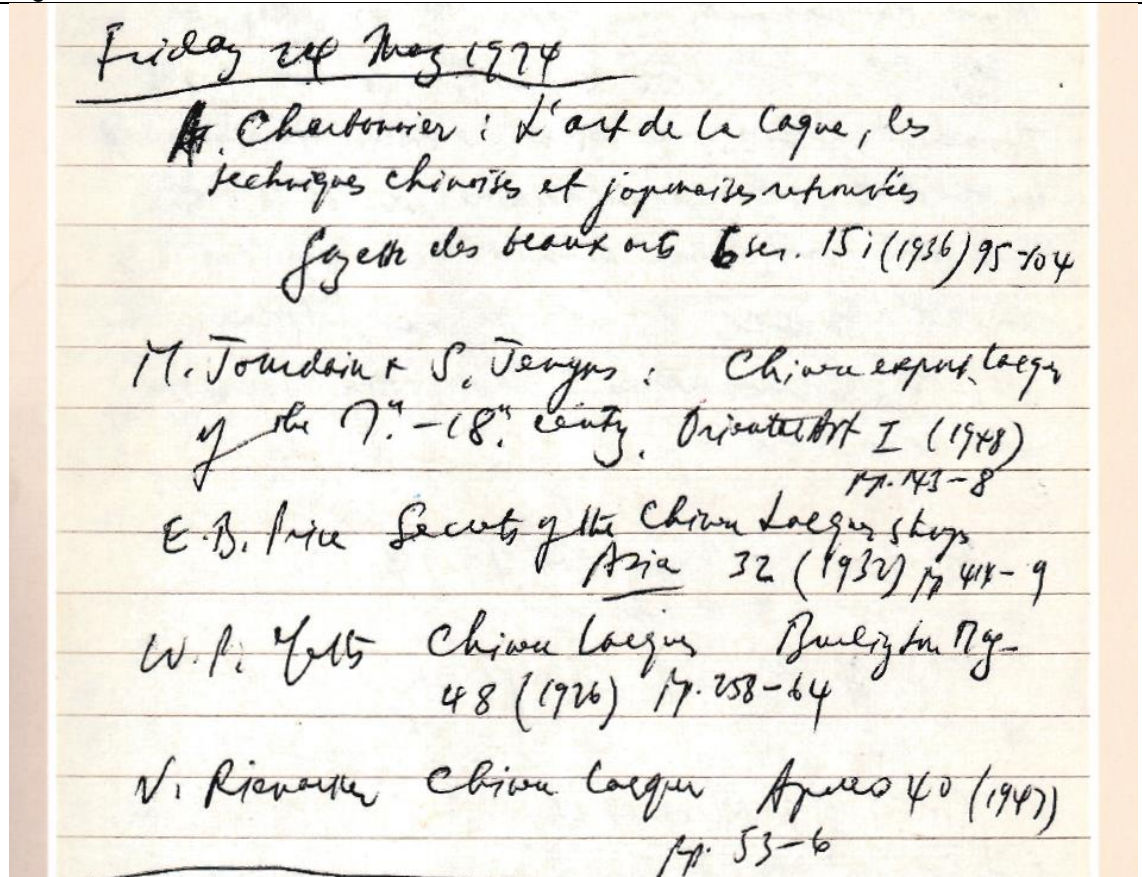
To illustrate traditional Chinese decorative patterns and their symbolic meaning, he makes use of exhibition catalogues from the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, the Musée des Gobelins in Paris (*Symbolism of Chinese imperial ritual robes* by Bernard Vuilleumier); the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art (*Chinese textiles* by Alan Priest and Pauline Simmons), as well as *Gugong bowuyuan* 故宮博物院 in Beijing.

The Chinese characters and their meanings, the allusion of these symbols and the device of the sound rebus are elucidated in Édouard Chavannes' *De l'expression des vœux dans l'art populaire chinois*, and Benjamin March's *Some technical terms of Chinese painting*, together with reference sources mentioned above. (see Section 2.1.1 & 2.1.2)

4.3.2 Bibliography on sinology

Hawkes consults a wide range of sinological literature, including the major bibliographies. For example, to elucidate the description on the lacquerware in Chapter 41, Hawkes lists 5 citations on lacquer on NB142, including 2 citations in French. Though he doesn't note the sources, they are clearly from *Index Sinicus*.¹¹ Out of a total of 39 entries (entry no. 15071-15109) listed under the heading "lacquer", Hawkes selects the following 5 from the years 1926 to 1948: and the reference numbers for the entries in *Index Sinicus* are provided in square brackets in the following figure for reference:

Fig. 4-2: NB142



Friday 24 May 1974

A. Charbonnier: L'art de la laque, les techniques chinoises et japonaises retrouvées
Gazette des beaux arts 6 ser. 151 (1936) 95-104

M. Jourdain & S. Jenyns: Chinese export lacquer of the 17th-18th century. Orient Art I (1948)
pp. 143-8

E.B. Price: Secrets of the Chinese lacquer shops
Asia 32 (1932) pp. 414-9

W.A. Yeltz: Chinese lacquer. Burlington Mag. 48 (1926) pp. 258-64

V. Rieu: Chinese lacquer. Apollo 40 (1947)
pp. 53-6

[15072] A. Charbonnier: L'art de la laque, les techniques chinoises et japonaises retrouvées. Gazette des beaux arts 6 ser. 151 (1936), pp.95-104.

[15086] M. Jourdain, & S. Jenyns: Chinese export lacquer of the 17th - 18th century. OA I (1948), pp.143 -148

[15102] E.B. Price: Secrets of the Chinese [Foochow] lacquer shops. Asia 32 (1932), pp.414-419

[15109] W.P. Yetts Chinese lacquer. *BM* 48 (1926), pp. 258-264.

[15104] V. Rienaeker, Chinese lacquer. *Apollo* 40 (1947), pp.53-56

Fig. 4-3: Lust, John, comp. *Index Sinicus: A Catalogue of Articles Relating to China in Periodicals And Other Collective Publications 1920-1955* 外文期刊有關中國論文索引. Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons Limited, 1964, p.432. ¹¹

XVI. LACQUER

15071 BEER, F. W., and MÄNCHEN-HELFEN, O. Carved red lacquer of the Ming period. *BM* 69 (1936), pp. 166-172

15072 CHARBONNIER, A. L'art de la laque, les techniques chinoises et japonaises retrouvées. *GBA* 6 ser. 151 (1936), pp. 95-104

15073 C. Ein datierter "Koromandelschirm." *OZ* 21 (1935), pp. 266-267

15074 A Chinese Kansitsu or dried lacquer figure. *BMMA* 15 (1920), pp. 77-79

15075 DART, R. P. A twelve-fold "Coromandel" lacquer screen: Chinese

seventeenth century. *BMFA* 43 (1945), pp. 4-9

15076 ERSKINE, S. Chinese and Japanese lacquer. *Apollo* 15 (1932), pp. 268-273

15077 FERNALD, H. E. A Chinese Buddhistic statue in dry lacquer. (Late Yüan, early Ming.) *Museum Journal* 18 (1927), pp. 284-294

15078 FISCHER, O. Chinesische Lackskulptur. *OZ* 19 (1933), pp. 74-82

15079 FISHER. Far Eastern lacquer screens. *Apollo* 55 (1952), pp. 164-167

15080 GRAY, B. The Eumorfopoulos lacquer toilet-box and blue T'ang horse. *BMQ* 14 (1940), pp. 49-53

Fig. 4-4: Lust, John, comp. *Index Sinicus: A Catalogue of Articles Relating to China in Periodicals And Other Collective Publications 1920-1955* 外文期刊有關中國論文索引. Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons Limited, 1964, p.433. ¹¹

15081-15118] XVI ARCHAEOLOGY AND FINE ARTS	
15081 HAENISCH, E. Tsch'ai Ta-ki, der Held von Tschu-lo. Geschichtliche Würdigung eines chinesischen Rotlackbildes. <i>OZ</i> 9 (1920-22), pp. 177-184	15095 MAENCHEN-HELFEN, O. Chinesisches Lackgerät. Ausstellung in Wien 1937. <i>OZ</i> 23 (1937), pp. 1-5
15082 HOLLIS, H. C. Cranes and serpents. <i>Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art</i> 25 (1938), pp. 147-151	15096 MÄECHEN-HELFEN, O. Materialien zur Geschichte des chinesischen Lacks. <i>OZ</i> 23 (1937), pp. 215-222
15083 HOLZHAUSEN. Die Lackschränke des Kurfürstlich Bayerischen Münzkabinetts in München. <i>MJBK</i> 5 (1954), pp. 205-216	15097 MANCHEN-HELFEN, O. Zur Geschichte der Lackkunst in China. <i>WBKKA</i> 11 (1937), pp. 32-64
15084 JENYNS, R. S. A Chinese lacquer box of the early fifteenth century. <i>BMQ</i> 14 (1940), pp. 37-40	15098 MEISTER, W. Eine geschnittene Rotlackdose der Ch'ien-Lung-Zeit. <i>Pantheon</i> 22 (1938), pp. 293-294
15085 JENYNS, S. Chinese lacquer. With especial reference to the lacquer of the Sung, Yüan and early Ming dynasties. <i>TOCS</i> 17 (1939-40), pp. 11-34	15099 NOVOTNY, F. Der Aufbau der Ornamente auf den Lackgeräten. (Han.) <i>WBKKA</i> 7 (1932-33), pp. 51-63
15086 JOURDAIN, M., and JENYNS, S. Chinese export lacquer of the 17th-18th century. <i>OA</i> 1 (1948), pp. 143-148	15100 PELLIOT, P. <i>Chinese lacquer</i> , by E. F. Strange (etc.). (Review.) <i>TP</i> 25 (1928), pp. 116-134
15087 KLING, G. Notes on the lacquers of the Far East. <i>Asia</i> 3 (1953), pp. 351-360	15101 PELLIOT, P. Le statues en "laque sèche" dans l'ancien art chinois. <i>JA</i> 202 (1923), pp. 181-201
15088 Le laque et l'art des laqueurs. <i>La Chine</i> 42 (1923), pp. 585-588	15102 PRICE, E. B. Secrets of the Foochow lacquer shops. <i>Asia</i> 32 (1932), pp. 414-419
15089 LOW-BEER, F. A carved laquer plaque of the late Chou period. <i>BMFEA</i> 21 (1949), pp. 27-29	15103 REITZ, S. C. B. A Chinese lacquered Lohan statue. <i>BMMA</i> 22 (1927), 134-136
15090 LOW-BEER, F. Chinese lacquer of the early 15th century. <i>BMFEA</i> 22 (1950), pp. 145-167	15104 RIENAECKER, V. Chinese lacquer. <i>Apollo</i> 40 (1947), pp. 53-56
15091 LOW-BEER, F. Chinese lacquer of the middle and late Ming period. <i>BMFEA</i> 24 (1952), pp. 27-49	15105 SALMONY, A. Die Stellung des Lacks in der chinesischen Kunst. <i>Chin. Deutsch. Alm.</i> (1933), pp. 20-23
15092 LOW-BEER, F. Chinese lacquer wares. <i>East and West</i> 5 (1955), pp. 285-290	15106 15106 STRANGE, E. F. An exhibition of Chinese lacquer. <i>BM</i> 46 (1925), pp. 276-281
15093 Löw-BEER, F. Two lacquered boxes from Ch'angsha. <i>AA</i> 10 (1947), pp. 302-311, 11 (1948), pp. 266-273	15107 TOMITA, Kojiro. A Han lacquer dish and a Koryo silver ewer from Korea. <i>BMFA</i> 33 (1935), pp. 64-69
15094 Löw-BEER, F. Zum Dekor der Han-Lacke. <i>WBKKA</i> 11 (1937), pp. 65-72	15108 VORETZSCH, E. A. Ancient Chinese lacquer. <i>Eastern Art</i> 3 (1931), pp. 5-27
	15109 YETTS, W. P. Chinese lacquer. <i>BM</i> 48 (1926), pp. 258-264

Index Sinicus, a catalogue of articles relating to China in periodicals and other collective publications 1902-1955 外文期刊有關中國論文, is one of the most important sinological bibliographies. It is very likely that Hawkes consults *Index Sinicus* on other topics, without necessarily documenting this in the *Notebooks*.

4.3.3 Reference works on Chinese literature

References to Chinese literature are ubiquitous throughout *HLM*, and are embedded in, for example, dialogues of the literary Jia family, dramatic performance in family gatherings and celebrations, riddles and literary quotations given in literary games and competitions, names of places in Prospect Garden, to name just a few. Hawkes refers to a wide range of literary and scholarly sources to decode and elucidate the allusions for English readers, without which the essence of the story would be unintelligible.

4.3.3.1 Anthologies

Hawkes draws on the major anthologies of Chinese literature. For poems of the Tang and Song Dynasties, Hawkes refers to *Quan Tangshi* 全唐詩, and *Quan Songshi* 全宋詩, the most comprehensive collection of Tang poetry and Song poetry respectively, for quotations from Tang poets such as Liu Zhangqing 劉長卿, Gao Zhan 高瞻, Cui Tu 崔塗 and a Song poet, Liu Jisun 劉季孫. These anthologies are frequently quoted in domino games and on other occasions. (see Section 2.1.12) (NB310) (NB341-2)

Tangshi jishi 唐詩紀事 by Ji Yougong 計有功 is an anthology of Tang poetry which is unique in its inclusion of an enormous amount of background information, which would otherwise have been lost. Hawkes refers to the anthology to elucidate the expression 推敲 which originates in the anecdotes about Jia Dao 賈島 and Han Yu 韓愈. (see Section 2.1.17) (NB98)

For the famous prose writings of the Song dynasty, e.g. 歐陽修's 醉翁亭記, Hawkes refers to *Guwen Guanzhi* 古文觀止, to trace the origin of the expression. This anthology was an essential examination preparation text during the Qing Dynasty, and is still very popular today. (see Section 2.1.32) (NB364)

4.3.3.2 Works of individual poets

For individual classic authors, Hawkes refers to sources such as 李太白全集 for Li Bai 李白's poems, and 杜少陵集譯注 for Du Fu 杜甫's poems, which are among the best works on the poets. (see Section 2.1.12) (NB341-2)

Also, Hawkes consults 中國詩人選集, the series on poets compiled by a Japanese, Ikka Tomoyoshi 一海知義, on the quotation 花氣襲人知晝暖, which originates from the poem 村居書喜 by 陸遊. (see Section 2.1.31) (NB329) (NB300)

4.3.3.3 Plays

Hawkes, who has a great love for Chinese drama, shows his thorough knowledge of the two plays frequently quoted in the novel, *Xixiangji* 西廂記, by *Wang Shifu* 王實甫 and *The Return of the Soul* 牡丹亭, by *Tang Xianzu* 湯顯祖. (see Section 2.2)

Hawkes identifies that the quotation, 幽僻處可有人行, which the lonesome Dai-yu comes up with is derived from *Xixiangji* in the scene where Ying-ying's maid, Reddie 紅娘, sings to the tune of tuobushan 脫布衫. He remarks that Dai-yu's comment is not very apt, as *Western Chamber* describes the loneliness of the male protagonist, Scholar Zhang, not the female protagonist. (see Section 2.2.9) (NB120).

Hawkes recognizes the rhetorical device in Chapter 34 「左思右想一時七情六慾將五內沸然炙起」 and gives an example of it from *The Return of the Soul*. (see Section 2.1.23) (NB120)

4.3.3.4 Philosophical and historical allusions

In addition to literary quotations, wise sayings from ancient philosophers abound in *HLM*, especially passages on the Tao and Zen Buddhism which echo Cao's secret message. Hawkes locates the relevant episode from the classics, *Tianyun* 天運 of *Zhuang-zi* 莊子 for the famous story on 效顰 as mentioned by Bao-yu in Chapter 30. (see Section 2.1.17) (NB98)

For historical details, Hawkes consults the primary text 飛燕外傳 “*The Secret History of Flying Swallow*”, which is a biography of the Empress of the Han Emperor Cheng (43 -1 B.C.), to verify 合德 Hede as the younger sister of *Feiyan* 飛燕 (Flying Swallow). (see Section 2.1.7) (NB38)

4.3.4 Reference works on Chinese dominoes

To give English readers a better idea of Chinese dominoes as played by Grandmother Jia and the girls in Chapter 40, Hawkes provides an Appendix in Volume Two, giving a 2-page

comparison between Chinese dominoes and the somewhat similar European game, with reference to Stewart Culin's *Chinese Games with Dice and Dominoes*.

To interpret the names of the different patterns and combinations of dominoes for which each player will give a relevant literary quotation, Hawkes goes to great lengths to consult works by Chinese scholars, including *Xinding yapai shu* 新定牙牌數 by Yu Yue 俞樾; *Huntongtian paipu* 混同天牌譜 by Zheng Xudan 鄭旭旦; *Yapai canchan tupu* 牙牌參禪圖譜 by Liu Zunlu 劉遵陸, including Yapai Wudengci 牙牌舞燈詞, Sijijietongxin 四季結同心, and qiqiaoci 乞巧詞. (see Section 2.1.12) (NB69-71) (NB341-343)

4.3.5 Reference works on Chinese medicine

4.3.5.1 Authoritative work

References to traditional Chinese medicine are plentiful in *HLM*. To decipher the specialized terminology of Chinese medicine, Hawkes consults various Chinese and English language sources. This includes, obviously, the authoritative work, *Bencao Gangmu* 本草綱目, the most comprehensive handbook of Chinese medicine, to which Hawkes refers re the nature and botanical term for the plant, hisbiscus 芙蓉. (see Section 2.1.29) (NB246)

4.3.5.2 Specialised works on botany

Hawkes finds English and botanical names from Read's *Chinese Medicinal Plants from the Pen Ts'ao Kang Mu. A.D. 1596: Botanical, Chemical and Pharmacological Reference List*, which provides indices of medical terms in Chinese, English and Latin.

Undoubtedly, Read is Hawkes' most frequently-consulted work on medical terms. Hawkes comes up with the translation of the name of one of Bao-yu's maids, 佳蕙 "Melilot", based on Read's botanical term for the medicinal plant 蕙草 which forms part of the maid's name. (see Section 2.1.9) (NB53) Also, Hawkes consults Read's medicinal plants for 蒲艾簪門, "Sprays of calamus and artemisia", which are displayed on the doorways during the Double Fifth Festival. (see Section 2.1.19) (NB101)

For specific drugs such as Xiang-ru 香薷, *Elsholtzia*, he consults also the Chinese work, *Zhongguo zhi wu tu jian* 中國植物圖鑑 for further details of the plant, including its picture, the Chinese botanical name, and the original source in which the medicine was first documented. (see Section 2.1.11) (NB68)

With reference to *Zhongguo yixue dacidian* 中國醫學大辭典, Hawkes comes up with his translation based on the ingredients and production process of the Chinese medicines, including Hainan kid's-blood pills for 山羊血巉峒丸 (see Section 2.1.18) (NB100), and Dong E ass's glue for 阿膠 (see Section 2.1.30) (NB324)

4.3.5.3 Relevant citations

Regarding the list of Chinese drugs from the doctor's prescription for Qin-shi shown in Chapter 10, Hawkes collects a list of citations on NB5, noting "Sources used for medical and botanical terms in Chapter 10 (mostly suggestions of AH)". AH is the abbreviation Hawkes uses for Anthony Hyder, the Librarian of the Oriental Institute at Oxford who provided access to bibliographic materials, citing, in addition to Read's work mentioned above, a French title, *La prise de pouls en médecine sino-Vietnamienne*, Thomas A. Wise's *Review of the history of medicine (1867)*, as well as Joseph Needham's *Clerks and craftsmen in China and the West*. (op. cit. note 75-6 of Chapter 2). This book is a by-product of Needham's monumental work, *Science and civilization of China*, and includes occasional lectures, and accounts of material he discovered which were too detailed for his main work.

4.3.6 Reference works on Chinese customs and rituals

Hawkes consults 燕京歲時記 (*Annual Customs and Festivals in Peking*) to verify that the silk charms are hung on the backs of children rather than on their arms during the Double Fifth Festival. (NB102) To explain the connection between the Tianshi 天師, and the tiger charms as displayed during the Festival, Hawkes collects details from *Dongjing menghua lu* 東京夢華錄, *Xihu laoren fansheng lu* 西湖老人繁勝錄, *Mengliang lu* 夢梁錄, and *Wulin jiushi* 武林舊事, all of which are primary sources on the customs of the Song capitals written during the period 1140 and 1280. (see Section 2.1.19) (NB101)

4.3.7 Reference works on Chinese weights and measures

Hawkes is very careful about giving the exact equivalent to Chinese weights and measures. With reference to Troy Weight, Hawkes converts the Chinese measures into the standard English ones, converting the unit 錢 to 2 pennyweights, as shown in Chapter 24. (See Section 2.1.8) (NB40) (NB176)

4.3.8 Dictionaries in Chinese and/or Japanese

4.3.8.1 To explain the expression 星輝 in Chapter 53 (NB74), Hawkes resorts to two major dictionaries on literary Chinese. First, he refers to the *Morohashi* dictionary 大漢和辭典, establishing that 星輝 and 星暉 are interchangeable, and he is thus able to search under the entry 暉 from *Peiwen Yunfu*, (“a Gradus ad Parnassum” filed by the last character of the compound) to further elucidate the expression. (See Section 2.1.13)

For this kind of research, one needs to have mastered the Chinese way of looking up words in the dictionaries, among which the commonest involves identifying the radicals of the specific Chinese character. A more challenging approach is adopted by *Peiwen Yunfu* 佩文韻府 in which the Chinese compound expressions are organized by the rhyming system of Chinese compounds. Undoubtedly, Hawkes, as an older-style Sinologist, was in full command of these skills and so could make extensive use of these reference tools.

4.3.8.2 In the novel, the characters are portrayed primarily through their conversations. To interpret the vernacular expressions, Hawkes refers to works such as *Beijingshua yuhui* 北京話語匯 (1961), *Guoyu cidian* 國語辭典 (1937), and *Xiaoshuo ciyu huishi* 小說詞語匯釋 (1964), in order to verify colloquial expressions including, 鞋塌拉襪塌拉 (Section 2.1.14) (NB75), and 懶懶的 (Section 2.1.20) (NB101), etc.

The 4-volume *Guoyu cidian* 國語辭典 seems to have been Hawkes’ first port of call, as he mentions more than once that the expression is “not in *KYTT*” (*KYTT* (*Kuo-yü Tz’u-tien*) was the abbreviation Hawkes used for 國語辭典) (see Section 2.1.20) (NB101)

4.3.8.3 Hawkes refers to *Kōrōmu goi sakuin*. 紅樓夢語彙索引 compiled by the Japanese lexicographer, Miyata Ichirō 宮田一郎. This index to *HLM* provides occurrences of expressions in *HLM*, and is a useful tool to compare and interpret the use and meaning of specific expressions in different contexts in the novel. For example, Hawkes examines the various examples listed in 紅樓夢語彙索引 on 晚上 and 晚間 so as to identify whether there is any difference between the two expressions. (see Section 2.1.25) (NB163-4)

4.3.8.4 English-Chinese Dictionaries

The bilingual dictionary which Hawkes uses most frequently is the 1931 Mathews' *Chinese-English Dictionary*, sometimes incorporating the dictionary's translation himself, for example, "pale lilac colour" for 藕合 (see section 2.1.16) (NB88), "a good constitution" for 脈氣充足 (see Section 2.1.21) (NB103) ; and alternatively, recording Mathews' translation in the *Notebooks* without adding it in the translation, for example, "double stars" for 雙星 (see Section 2.1.22) (NB103).

4.3.9 Works by HLM scholars

4.3.9.1 With reference to *Honglouloumeng suoyin* 紅樓夢索隱 compiled by Wang Mengruan 王夢阮 and Shen Ping'an 沈瓶庵 in 1916, Hawkes finds out how exclusive "two strings of red musk-scented medicine-beads" 紅麝香珠 are. (see Section 2.1.15) (NB76)

4.3.9.2 Hawkes consults *Honglouloumeng xinzheng* 紅樓夢新證 by Zhou Ruchang 周汝昌 in which *Diexiang Xianshi* 蝶鄉仙史 claims that Jia Rui's illness is manifested in less than a month (不上一月) rather than less than a year (不上一一年) in Remin. Hawkes is not convinced and follows the Remin version. Hawkes further traces this reference (*Diexiang Xianshi* 蝶鄉仙史) in a bibliography, *Honglouloumeng shulu* 紅樓夢書錄 compiled by Yi Su 一粟. (see Section 2.1.10) (NB64-5)

4.3.10 Reference to other translations

4.3.10.1 Hawkes recognises the expressions 千里眼 and 順風耳 as from *Xiyouji* 西遊記, and renders them with reference to *Monkey*, Waleys' translation of *Xiyouji*, as "Thousand League Eye with his blue face and Favourable Wind Ear with his green one" (see Section 3.1.11) (NB140)

4.3.10.2 Not only does Hawkes trace the original Chinese texts from which expressions originate, he refers to English translations of these Chinese works as well, to verify the meaning and establish the context. Hawkes thoroughness can be illustrated by the following. He consults *Guwen Guanzhi* 古文觀止, for the prose work 醉翁亭記 by Ouyang Xiu (Ou-yang Hsiu) 歐陽修, from which 泉香而酒冽 originates. Then, he writes down the lines, 臨溪而漁·溪深而

魚肥・釀泉為酒・泉香而酒冽 to put the expression in context. On top of that, he consults the English version of the work included in James Liu's *Ou-yang Hsiu: an eleventh century Neo-Confucianist*, and renders the expression accordingly. Similarly, Hawkes refers to both the Chinese text and its English translation by Obata for the expression 玉盃盛來琥珀光 which originates from Li Bai's poem, 客中行. (see Section 2.1.32) (NB364)

4.3.10.3 Wang Jizhen (Chi-chen)'s abridged translation of *HLM*, entitled *Dream of the Red Chamber*, is referred to several times in the *Notebooks*, and Hawkes always agrees with his interpretation. For example, in Chapter 61, he agrees with Wang re the custom of 送粥米 as a traditional "birth present", referring to 夢梁錄, the thirteenth-century work on the Southern Song capital. (see Section 2.1.28) (NB209)

4.3.10.4 Hawkes was a fluent reader of Japanese. Despite many references in the *Notebooks* to Itō Sōhei 伊藤漱平 's Japanese translation, *Kōrōmu* 紅樓夢 (In *Chūgoku koten bungaku taikei* 中國古典文學大系 vols. 44-46),¹² Hawkes does not seem to agree with Ito in most cases. He does agree with him however on NB72-3 regarding Tan-chun's expression, 造雪而來, in her letter to Bao-yu proposing the establishment of the Poetry Club with Bao-yu and the girls. As reference to the Japanese translation is beyond the scope of this study, the following provides just a brief highlight regarding Hawkes' comment on NB72-3. With reference to Ito's footnote regarding Tan-chun's expression, 造雪而來, Hawkes agrees with Ito in referring the expression to 東山之會, which refers to a literary gathering set up by Xie An with his family.

As given in *Shishuo Xinyu* 世說新語¹³, the story goes:

During a family gathering when Xie An discusses literature with his family, there is a violent flurry of snow. Xie is delighted and asks what the flurry of white snow resemble. His nephew compares it with salt thrown in the air. His niece compares it with wind-driven willow catkins.

Hawkes in his note reckons that "The meaning is doubtless what Ito implies: "Come and join us girls in a poetry club" (NOT 'come and talk to me about this') (NB73). As such, Hawkes renders 造雪而來 as follows:

「若蒙造雪而來，」

(R II, 37, 441)

4.3.11 Personal communications

The *Notebooks* has multiple references to personal communications with Hawkes' friends, for example, Mary Tregear (for meaning of the term 燙蠟釘硃 (see Section 2.1.6) (NB 37), Joseph Needham and Lu Gwei-Djen 魯桂珍 (on Chinese medical terms (see Section 2.1.26) (NB 172), Zheng Dekun 鄭德坤 (on Chinese symbolism (see Section 2.1.1) (NB20) and Dorothy Liu, a particular close friend, on many topics.

4.4 Aids to readers and Incorporated footnotes

HLM is an immensely complex work, left unfinished by the author. Its philosophical undertones and its allusive character make it difficult even for a native speaker of Chinese to understand. These difficulties are greatly magnified when it has to be presented in another language. To make the work understandable without adding extensive footnotes, Hawkes often amplifies the text by incorporating into it carefully-researched explanations of cultural, historical, and literary background, etc.

This is a key feature of Hawkes' approach. With his superb knowledge of Chinese and mastery of English, he makes all this background information explicit in full detail in a scholarly, skillful and readable fashion. He ranges over virtually every aspect of traditional Chinese culture, as well as a bewildering variety of names, and uses a carefully structured system for addressing relations in a family.

Hawkes discards traditional footnotes because they might interrupt the flow of the story, and the translator's obligation is to his reader, as a story-teller. Hawkes writes he is not apologetic about making amplifications, as he once remarks, “reading a heavily annotated novel would seem to me rather like trying to play tennis in chains.” (P II, Preface, 18)

These incorporated footnotes occur throughout the *Stone*. Some examples are as follows:

4.4.1 Customs and rituals

In Chapter 21, Xi-feng's daughter comes down with smallpox. Xi-feng has a room tidied up for prayers to the Smallpox Goddess. Also, the bedding of Jia Lian, her husband, has to be moved

to a room outside. Hawkes adds the explanation that “for sexual abstinence, too, was enjoined on the parents of the sufferer.” (P I, 21, 424)

In Chapter 61, Hawkes elaborates at some length on the Chinese custom of giving the present 送粥米 for friends and relatives who “had just had a baby”, with reference to *Mengliang lu* 夢梁錄 and the translation of Wang Jizhen (Chi-chen). (see Section 2.1.28) (NB209).

In Chapter 29, Hawkes elaborates at some lengths on the religious rituals 神前拈了戲 (literally, gods had chosen the plays to be performed) in describing the occasion when the Jia family watches plays at the Taoist temple of the Lunar Goddess as follows: (R I, 29, 349)

‘the gods had now chosen which plays were to be performed – by which was meant, of course, that the names had been shaken from a pot in front of the altar, since this was the only way in which the will of the gods could be known.’ (P II, 29, 80)

4.4.2 Plays

The second play chosen by the gods is 滿床笏 “*A Heap of Honours*”. Hawkes provides a description of the play (in greater detail than the annotation provided in Renmin).

「唐代郭子儀『七子八婿·富貴壽考』的故事。」 (R I, 29, 349/note 2)

“*A Heap of Honours*, which shows the sixtieth birthday party of the great Tang general Guo Zi-yi, attended by his seven sons and eight sons-in-law, all of whom held high office, the ‘heap of honours’ of the title being a reference to the table in his reception-hall piled high with their insignia.” (P II, 29, 80-1)

Hawkes’ description of the play enables readers to understand Grandmother Jia’s remarks “It seems a bit conceited to have this second one played.” (P II, 39, 81) She is worrying that the choice might be interpreted as the Jias showing off their own good fortune. Nevertheless, Grandmother Jia agrees, supposing this to be the will of the gods.

4.4.3 Poetry

In Chapter 17, when the new garden is ready for the visit of the Imperial Concubine. Jia Zheng goes round it with the literary gentlemen, in order to decide on the provisional inscriptions which can be painted on paper lanterns and hung up in appropriate places. They will then leave them to the Imperial Concubine to choose permanent names after inspecting the garden.

When they reach a sloping hill with a group of thatched cottages and several hundred apricot trees, one of the literary gentlemen proposes to follow the ancients to name it “Apricot Village” 杏花村, alluding to a famous line from the Tang poet, 杜牧 Du Mu’s poem, entitled 清明:

「清明時節雨紛紛，路上行人卻斷魂。借問酒家何處有？牧童遙指杏花村。」

Neither the poet nor the poem is mentioned in the Chinese text of *HLM*, Hawkes recognizes the allusion and adds the name of the poet and his translation of the last couplet. He also provides context by adding his own phrase, ‘the words of the fainting traveler’, as follows:

「此處古人已道盡矣：莫若直書「杏花村」為妙。賈政聽了，笑向賈珍道 ...」

(R I, 17, 190)

“ ‘In this case the ancients have already provided the perfect name: “Apricot Village”.’ Jia Zheng knew that he was referring to the words of the fainting traveler in Du Mu’s poem:

‘Where’s the tavern?’ I cry, and a lad points the way

To a village far off in the apricot trees.

He turned to Cousin Zhen with a smile ...”

(P I, 17, 334)

4.4.4. Lyrics

In Chapter 23, the arias which Dai-yu hears in a rehearsal in the Pear Tree Court remind her of a line of a lyric poem 詞, which is 流水落花春去也，天上人間, of which the title and the author are not given in the Chinese text.

(R I, 23, 270)

Having identified the source of the quotation, Hawkes gives in Chinese on NB310, the author, the name of the lyric metre 浪淘沙, and the title 李煜 is always known by, 南唐後主 (The Last Emperor of Southern Tang). In the translation itself, Hawkes adds a brief Incorporated Footnote, “written in his captivity by the tragic poet emperor of the Later Tang” to accompany this famous quotation given by Dai-yu. (see Section 2.2.5) (NB310)

The poet, 李煜, who became Emperor in 961, was taken prisoner by the House of Song. He is regarded as one of the first founders of lyric poetry 詞, which became the literate elite’s favourite way of expressing their feelings.

4.4.5 Historical background

In Chapter 41, Grannie Liu is rather intoxicated in the dinner party with the Jia family. As she listens to the fine music, she enthusiastically uses her hands and feet to keep time with it. Bao-yu draws Dai-yu's attention to this by whispering in her ear.

Dai-yu says, 當曰聖樂一奏，百獸率舞，如今才一牛耳! referring to the legend given in the *History Classic* that the music of the Emperor Shun was so touching that it made even animals dance, as explained in the Renmin annotation, 「古代傳說，帝舜的音樂，可以感得百獸隨着舞蹈。」 (R II, 41, 499)

Hawkes incorporates the Renmin annotation into the English translation as follows:

「黛玉笑道：『當曰聖樂一奏，百獸率舞，如今才一牛耳!』」 (R II, 41, 499)

“‘It reminds me of the passage in the *History Classic* about the animals dancing to the music of Shun.’ said Dai-yu. ‘Only in this case it’s just one old cow!’” (P II, 41, 309)

4.4.6 Kinship terms

Always wishing to be precise about kinship terms, in Chapter 20, Hawkes adds in brackets to give an explanation on Jia Huan's two mothers.

「趙姨娘見他這般，」 (R I, 20, 233)

“his real mother, ‘Aunt’ Zhao (Lady Wang was his mother only in name) observed the dejected state he was in.” (P I, 20, 408)

Jia Huan is the son of Jia Zheng and Aunt Zhao (Jia Zheng's concubine, whom Jia Huan addresses as ‘Aunt’), whereas Lady Wang is Jia Zheng's wife, whom Jia Huan addresses as mother.

Another example can be found in Chapter 19, in the celebrations of the Lantern Festival, Aroma's mother fetches Aroma and several of her 外甥女兒 and 侄女兒 for a family celebration.

外甥女兒 refers to a maternal niece (i.e. from Aroma's mother's brother/sister); 侄女兒 refers to a paternal niece (i.e. from Aroma's father's brother/sister).

Hawkes helps readers to differentiate between 外甥女兒 and 侄女兒 by elaborating on their relationship rather than translating simply as nieces: “various nieces, on both her own and her late husband’s side of the family.” (R I, 19, 214) (P I, 19, 379)

4.4.7 Prefaces and Appendices

In addition to providing incorporated footnotes in the text where necessary, Hawkes provides readers with additional aids when a more detailed elaboration of the background detail is required. The prefaces and appendices go a long way to resolving difficulties for the lay readers.

For example, Chapter 5 is well-known for its almost insurmountable difficulties in interpretation, Cao Xueqin filled this chapter with obscure hints in the form of riddles, songs and poems pointing to the eventual fate of his main characters. Hawkes deals with this in an 8-page Appendix to Volume 1, “*The ‘Twelve Beauties of Jinling’ and the ‘Dream of Golden Days’ Song-cycle*’.

(P I, App, 527-534)

Furthermore, in Hawkes’ 32-page Introduction to Volume 1 of the *Stone*, he discusses the question of the *Stone*’s authorship, and gives a masterly overview of the interrelationship of the different manuscripts and printed editions, the historical background of the novel, the various themes of the novel, and its symbolic and literary qualities.

Hawkes was ever eager to help his readers. Each volume of the *Stone* provides a note on spelling based on the standard romanisation, *hanyu pinyin*, for the names used in *HLM*. Also, it gives a list of characters of the specific volume and family trees of the major families in the novel, the Ning-guo and Rong-guo Houses of the Jia Clan.

Hawkes gives a brief synopsis of *The Return of the Soul* in an Appendix in Volume 2 of *Stone*, and unusually for him, uses a conventional footnote to refer readers to “Dr. H.C. Chang’s *Chinese literature: Popular Fiction and Drama*, Edinburgh 1973, pp.268-72”. (P II, App III, 594)

4.5 Creative approach to textual editing

4.5.1 Passion

Hawkes is fascinated by Cao’s great novel, being well-aware of the author’s hidden message, 其中味. The Story portrays the spiritual odyssey of Bao-yu, the Stone’s earthly incarnation,

who undergoes experiences of love, passion, and disillusionment, until attaining the liberating peace of Tao or Zen Buddhism. Cao, who himself suffered from the decline of his own once-prosperous family, was obsessed with a longing for the bygone golden days. He reflects bitterly on humanity's futile pursuit of desire, and seeks liberation from earthly concerns as the ultimate spiritual goal.

The whole novel implies that Bao-yu's life (i.e. the Stone's human experience) is but a dream from which he awakens towards enlightenment. This seems to echo *Zhuang-zhi's* dream of the butterfly, and his awakening, not knowing whether he is a butterfly dreaming he is Zhuang-zhou, or he is Zhuang-zhou dreaming he is a butterfly. Undoubtedly, dreams play a dominant role throughout the story of *HLM*, Chapter 5 providing the most striking example, in which Bao-yu's dream foretells the destinies of the twelve major female characters in the story.

In a letter written to the organizer of a conference in Tianjin, ¹⁴ Hawkes fondly reflected that the years when he was working on the translation of the *Stone* were among the happiest moments of his life. He is fully alert to Cao's clever use of literary references, word play, and symbolism, to tell a universal story of spiritual enlightenment. He is passionate in communicating to readers the intense enjoyment he himself has derived from this masterpiece.

Remembering how fascinating *HLM* is, Hawkes tells the story of Paul Demiéville, his friend, the Swiss-French Sinologist, who was reading *HLM* in a hammock, on the verandah of the French Sinology Centre in Hanoi. He was so wrapped up in the story that initially he did not realise his pet monkey was urinating from above his mosquito net. Demiéville regarded *HLM* as an even greater novel than *A la recherche du temps perdu*, Proust's famous autobiographical novel on the elite Parisian society at the end of the 19th century.

In the same letter, Hawkes reflected that if there was anything worthwhile about his translation, it was partly the result of his own enthusiasm for the book, which was not something he could fully explain. He was convinced that a similar spirit must have inspired his own favourite English translation, that of Rabelais' *Gargantua and Pantagruel* by Thomas Urquhart.

So, when Hawkes set about his task, he was determined to produce something enjoyable, something for the reader to enjoy as he enjoyed it himself, and not something purely academic. As he writes in the "Introduction" to the first volume of the *Stone*, "If I can convey to the reader even a fraction of the pleasure this Chinese novel has given me, I shall not have lived in vain."

(P I, Intro, 46)

4.5.2 Creativity: producing a unique edition of the Chinese text

Hawkes' passion for this great work of literature inspired his creative approach to the task.

One significant illustration of Hawkes' creativity is that he produced his own unique edition of the Chinese text, instead of following any previous one. He carefully and meticulously compared readings, and made a selection or modification to produce the best impact. Thus, he created a new text of the novel, (which was different from any previous edition/s of *HLM*.)

Hawkes is at the same time a translator and a textual scholar. Not only does he achieve mastery of the textual history of the novel, he is, at the same time, ready to emend the text, making alterations, amplifications and omissions whenever necessary. In all this, he is attempting to fulfill his main purpose as a translator, aiming to make the work fully comprehensible to the English language reader. Hawkes said himself in the 1998 interview that he simply selected whatever made the best story.¹⁵

Hawkes was in effect producing an implicit Chinese edition of his own, and thus his own bilingual edition. Dr Fan Shengyu made this available in 2012¹⁶ by placing Hawkes' reconstructed Chinese text and the translation itself on facing pages. Fan carried out this task by working backwards from the translation, using the *Notebooks* and consulting Hawkes and Minford themselves. It provides a valuable useful reference from which to study the actual choices Hawkes makes as a translator.

Fan mentions that Hawkes started work on the translation with six or seven versions of the novel at hand.¹⁷ Given the rich textual history of *HLM*, and given the varieties of texts which Hawkes consulted in the rendering of the *Stone*¹⁸, a major proportion of the *Notebooks* focuses on the editorial choices Hawkes made between multiple circulating manuscripts and the printed texts of *HLM*, as shown in Chapter 3 of this study.

Based on the limited number of examples collected from the *Notebooks*, Hawkes tends to favour the manuscript versions, in particular, Gengchen. However, this conclusion is rather arbitrary as there are many cases in which Hawkes chooses between different readings without discussing them in the *Notebooks*. Furthermore, Hawkes seems to have a high opinion of Gao E's editing, though he criticizes this on some occasions.

Nevertheless, based on these examples, we are better able to discern Hawkes' meticulous and thorough research, how he makes his choices, why he makes the alteration, on what basis he makes his judgment, with the ultimate objective to provide a readable, accurate, and enjoyable work for his readers.

4.5.3 Editorial choices

The following examples illustrate Hawkes' choice in textual editing:

4.5.3.1 Fun

Hawkes compares the variant texts regarding the jovial atmosphere of the New Year celebrations of the Jia family in Chapter 19, with plays performed at home. Renmin gives the usual exchange of greetings between the family members; whereas Gengchen directly quotes the remarks of passers-by in the street outside, adding the comment that this is the stock response. Hawkes adopts the Gengchen version as it "is much more fun to translate". (see Section 3.1.2) (NB22)

Similarly, Hawkes prefers the noisy, fun-filled laughter and conversation in Gengchen's portrait of the visit of the Jia family to the temple of the Lunar Goddess in Chapter 29. In contrast to Renmin, there is a more vivid and lively picture of the family on their way to the Temple, with direct quotations of the maids' protest such as "I'm not sitting next to you," "you've ruined my fan, clumsy!" and Zhou Rui's wife "calling for some order:" (see Section 3.1.11) (NB140)

Bao-yu's pageboy who is called 茗烟 is referred to later as 焙茗. Renmin has the pageboy himself explaining the change of his name when Jia Yun comes to Bao-yu's study. In Gengchen, there is simply a description of the pages playing together. Hawkes argues that this passage in Renmin was invented by Gao E to explain Tealeaf's change of name, which "spoils the scene completely." Hawkes therefore follows Gengchen and consequently has Tealeaf's name unchanged throughout the book. (see Section 3.1.5) (NB41)

4.5.3.2 Comprehensiveness

Hawkes adopts a manuscript version (Qianchao & Gengchen) which is more complete, providing all 5 of Xiang-yun's quotations which she gives half-drunk following the drinking game in Chapter 62. In contrast, *Renmin* has two of the quotations missing. (See Section 2.1.32) (NB364).

Also, in Chapter 19, Gengchen gives a fuller account of Dai-yu's response than Renmin. Bao-yu is interested in the attractive smell emanating from Dai-yu's sleeve, and guesses this must be Dai-yu's perfume. Dai-yu responds 這時候誰帶什麼香呢? (Renmin), Hawkes prefers Gengchen's 冬寒十月 (with annotation that it means cold winter) instead of 這時候 (at this time/season) in Renmin. Accordingly, Hawkes' translation combines Gengchen's quotation and an explanation. (see Section 3.1.3) (NB29-30)

In Chapter 26, Bao-yu is invited by Xue Pan to his birthday party. Hawkes notices the variant texts regarding the source of Xue Pan's birthday presents. Qianchao has the one name

crossed out and replaced with two names and others, which is also the reading in Renmin. Hawkes knows Xue Pan's character well, and notes that if Xue Pan says that Bao-yu is the only one worthy of such a present, "he really means it." Given that what Xue Pan says is true, Hawkes is puzzled why there are four more people in the party besides Bao-yu, and resolves that "they are all four donors of the feast." Therefore, Hawkes adopts Renmin, adding the incorporated footnote beside the names of the four guests, "Zhan Guang, Cheng Ri-xing, Hu Si-lai and Dan Ping-ren (the four donors of the feast)" (see Section 3.1.7) (NB61-2)

4.5.3.3 Accuracy

4.5.3.3.1 Fitting the context

In Chapter 37, Musk states the urgency of getting the vase back from Lady Wang's place. Hawkes carefully differentiates the meaning of similar expressions between the varied texts. The manuscripts (Qianchao and Gengchen) give Skybright's response as, 'that's true, let me go to fetch it', implying she is making an offer. Renmin gives 'that means I've got to go', simply following an instruction. Hawkes refers to Skybright's subsequent conversation that she is eager to go to fetch the vase, and follows the manuscripts. (see Section 3.1.10) (NB136)

In Chapter 57, after Lady Zhen confirms to Bao-yu that there really is another Bao-yu at her home, Bao-yu is finally convinced, 寶玉方信 as given by Qianchao and Gengchen. However, Renmin states the opposite, 寶玉不信 (Bao-yu is not convinced) . With reference to the context, Hawkes confirms that the manuscripts' reading is "obviously the correct text".(see Section 3.1.14) (NB201)

4.5.3.3.2 Consistency over time

In Chapter 32, in the conversation between Xiang-yun and Aroma, they recall the time when they were very close to each other. Aroma recalls that Xiang-yun was not bashful then when they talked about marriage. Gengchen and Qianchao (original) give the time they refer to as "ten years" before, which in Qianchao is crossed out and replaced with "those years" (which is the same reading in Renmin). Hawkes adopts "those years" as "ten years ago" is not quite right, as they would then have been too young to know about marriage. (see Section 3.1.9) (NB107)

4.5.3.3.3 Consistency in Dialogue

In Chapter 41, after Adamantina replies to Dai-yu's question, Renmin gives a response from Bao-chai, whereas Qianchao and Gengchen more plausibly follow it up with a response from Dai-yu herself. So, Hawkes follows the manuscripts. (see Section 3.1.12) (NB151-2)

4.5.3.3.4 Consistency of title

Hawkes notices the inconsistency in Gengchen over the title for 史鼎 Shi Ding, Xiang-yun's uncle, who is originally 忠靖侯 in Chapter 13, and then becomes 保齡侯 in Chapter 49. In Renmin, on the other hand, it is still 忠靖侯 which Hawkes regards as a piece of intelligent editing by Gao E. He accordingly adopts the title "The Marquis of Zhong-jing" 忠靖侯史鼎 in Chapter 49. (see Section 3.1.13) (NB166)

4.5.3.3.5 Carefully choosing between Singular and Plural

In Chapter 28, a maid comes to fetch Bao-yu and Dai-yu to Grandmother Jia's place for lunch. Dai-yu, offended by Bao-yu's words, doesn't want to go with him. She says to the maid that Bao-yu is not eating lunch today, and suggests, 'I'll go first' (based on Renmin), whereas Qianchao gives 'let us go', which is crossed out and replaced with 'I'll go first'. Hawkes remarks that the original version in Qianchao 'let's go' matches the context, as Dai-yu suggests going with the maid, not by herself, and translates accordingly. (see Section 3.1.8) (NB80)

4.5.4 Emendations

In circumstances where Hawkes thinks it necessary to edit, he innovatively comes up with his own emendation. Examples are as follows:

4.5.4.1 Inconsistency in context

In Chapter 29, when the little acolyte is brought before Grandmother Jia, all Chinese versions indicate that the acolyte has the snuffers in his hand, 一手拿着蠟剪, 跪在地下. Hawkes notices that the snuffers have already fallen onto the ground while Xi-feng smacks the boy, as shown in an earlier paragraph. Hawkes skillfully emends it to make it consistent with the text: "The boy knelt down in front of her, the snuffers - now restored to him", implying that someone has given the snuffers back to him. (see Section 3.2.1) (NB85)

Hawkes spots an inconsistency between the end of Chapter 33 and the beginning of Chapter 34. After Bao-yu is beaten by his father, Chapter 33 shows Bao-yu being carried back home by the servants only. However, Chapter 34 describes Grandmother Jia and Lady Wang as being with them and Bao-yu. Hawkes skillfully inserts at the end of Chapter 33 "Preceded as before by Grandmother Jia, Lady Wang and the rest" before the clause, "they carried him through into the Garden" (See Section 3.2.3) (NB115)

In Chapter 37, Hawkes creatively changes Tan-chun's pen-name from "Under the Plantains" to "Plantain Lover" in response to Dai-yu's sarcasm, even though there is no such revision in the Chinese text, where Tan-chun remains as 蕉下客 or 蕉客. (see Section 2.1.5) (NB37)

Hawkes sometimes refers to details in other parts of the story for verification. He remarks, for example, that there is something wrong in Chapter 53 in which Dr. Wang went outside, wrote a prescription and brought it in. Referring back to Chapter 10 and Chapter 42, Hawkes gives a detailed account of how the doctor deals with his prescriptions, and edits the text accordingly in his translation, "He went outside and wrote another prescription which was presently brought in to Bao-yu." (see Section 3.2.9) (NB176)

4.5.4.2 Incorrect numbers

In Chapter 58, Hawkes works out the number of the original twelve actresses in Pear Tree Court who are leaving the Jia family, which should be three instead of "four or five" as given in the original Chinese text, 將去者四五人. He edits accordingly (see Section 2.3.5) (NB203)

Hawkes the meticulous translator and editor sometimes proceeds as if he is the director of a play. He notices that the 4 characters (Old Mrs. Lai 賴嬤嬤, Lai Da's wife 賴大家的, the wives of Zhou Rui 周瑞家的 and Zhang Cai 張材家的) are engaged in a conversation, and comments: "None of them has been got off the stage up to this point.". Therefore, he supplied 三人去了 to "The four women then left.", remarking, "Our Forgetful Author". (see Section 3.2.6) (NB161)

4.5.4.3 Tracking the characters

Hawkes is able to keep track of details in the story which are sometimes pages apart. In Chapter 45, Xi-chun asks Xi-feng for the architect's drawing in preparation for her painting of the Garden. In the Chinese text, Xi-feng replies that the drawing isn't at Grandmother Jia's, 那個圖樣沒有在老太太那裡. Hawkes remembers that in Chapter 42 Bao-chai suggests that they should ask Lady Wang for the drawing, 你和太太要出來. Hawkes alters Xi-feng's reply to read 那個圖樣沒有在太太那裡, replacing 老太太 with 太太 and renders accordingly, "The architect's drawing isn't at Lady Wang's." (see Section 3.2.5) (NB161)

4.5.4.4 Sentence order

In Chapter 43, Hawkes notices that the expression 蓋起廟來供着 “appears to be misplaced.” in the sentence, and therefore changes the order of the Chinese text in his translation. (see Section 3.2.4) (NB158)

4.5.4.5 Consistency over time

In Chapter 45, Bao-chai offers to ask her mother to send Dai-yu some bird’s nest, saying that 我明日家去和媽媽說了 (literally, I will have a word with mother tomorrow), and it happens that the bird’s nest is sent to Dai-yu that same evening. Hawkes notices the inconsistency between what Bao-chai says and her action. He documents his thinking in the *Notebooks* and rationalizes a subtle interpretation of 明日 which makes sense and renders accordingly, “I shall have a word with Mother next time I see her about this” (see Section 3.2.7) (NB162-3)

4.5.5 Keeping track of the story

On many occasions, Hawkes remarks in the *Notebooks* demonstrate his extraordinary ability to keep track of all the details in the story, to follow the events to produce a fully accurate translation. Owing to his meticulous and thorough research, he is able to verify the details in the story very well, to trace what happens, so as to detect an inconsistency in the text many pages later. In some cases, however, depending on the context and the circumstances, he finds there is no need for an emendation.

4.5.5.1 Inconsistency in time

In Chapter 29, Abbot Zhang says Sir Zheng cannot remember his father clearly. Hawkes points out the inconsistency with Chapter 33 in which Grandmother Jia rebukes Jia Zheng, referring specifically to Jia Zheng’s upbringing by his father. (see Section 3.2.2) (NB86-7)

4.5.5.2 Afterthought

In Chapter 52, Hawkes comments on the reference to Grandmother Jia and Lady Wang telling Bao-yu that he must wear his cloak, “Probably ... an afterthought of the author’s at this point to explain why the cloak must be worn next day.” He refers to two conversations (5 to 8 pages earlier) between Musk and Bao-yu, in which there is no mention of the cloak. (see Section 3.2.8) (NB174-5)

4.5.5.3 Characters on-stage

Hawkes comments on “a typical weakness of 曹’s narration” in Chapter 55. Aunt Zhao, Tan-chun’s natural mother, comes to accuse Tan-chun of not giving an additional twenty or thirty

taels for her brother's funeral expenses. While they are arguing, Bao-chai, Li Wan and Patience join in the conversation, which goes on for 4 pages of the Renmin text. At the end, Renmin gives 那時趙姨娘已去, a sentence which Hawkes comments was simply added to cover up for Cao's forgetting that Aunt Zhao was still there, as it is unclear exactly how Aunt Zhao could have left. Hawkes remarks that the author frequently makes this kind of slip. (see Section 3.2.10) (NB196).

4.5.5.4 Contradiction of details

In Chapter 64, in response to Dai-yu's remark that Bao-yu might copy the poems from their Crab-flower Club and share them with others, Bao-yu claims that he only copies them onto a fan so he himself can read them at any time. Hawkes realizes this contradicts the statement in Chapter 48 that "the poems have actually been published." He comments: "this passage makes BY [Bao-yu] a liar and DY [Dai-yu] a conspirator." (see Section 3.2.11) (NB219)

4.6 Concluding remarks

All these examples show how Hawkes looks for practical solutions to problems he comes across in the translation process. These are mainly specific problems in translating *HLM*. He explains in the 1998 interview ¹⁹ that this approach is one tailored for *HLM* and not necessarily applicable to other works.

Indeed, the *Notebooks* provide ideal material for a case study of Hawkes' working methods, providing researchers, readers, and translators with many insights not only into *HLM*, but, more importantly, into the translation process itself. This illuminates the scholarship, the passion, and the commitment of the great translator at work.

We have witnessed how he identifies the best possible text from among the various editions, how he embeds Chinese culture into the English version, incorporating the literary heritage of China and the West into his translation, deciphering the ubiquitous allusions and cryptic hints in the original to provide a readable, intelligible and enjoyable novel, which is in itself a contribution to world literature. His objective was to bring English readers to a closer understanding and appreciation of Chinese culture, and most importantly, to decipher Cao Xueqin's hidden message for humanity.

4.7 Epilogue

Coming under the spell of *HLM*, Hawkes was passionate about sharing with his readers the intense enjoyment he himself had derived from this great work of world literature and to share with readers Cao's insight into the human condition. Filled with his great passion and his sense of mission, he embarked on this odyssey together with John Minford, his similarly-inspired student and son-in-law. Together, they produced another great work of world literature through 15 years of dedication and perservance.

With all the linguistic resources at their disposal, Hawkes and Minford applied the literary traditions of the west, its rhetoric, symbolism, and word-play, etc. to re-create the *Stone* for the West. In it they fuse the heritage of Greek and Roman literature and of English literature, with the insights of sinologists from England, France, Japan, and elsewhere. This all mingles and interconnects with the Chinese literary heritage, including not only the eighteenth-century *HLM* itself, but also ancient religious and philosophical works, drama, fiction and poetry of the Tang, Song, Yuan, Ming and Qing Dynasties. Thus, Hawkes and Minford bring to life the spiritual odyssey of the *Stone* who achieves enlightenment after experiencing passion, disenchantment and disillusionment, thereby enacting the story of the whole of humanity.

The Hawkes-Minford translation opens up a whole new horizon in our quest for the *Stone*, providing new perspectives for the appreciation of this masterpiece, illuminating the way through the novel's seemingly labyrinthine realm. It guides readers down paths unexplored before. Through the newly-fashioned threads woven together by Hawkes-Minford into the fabric of the *Stone* voyage, readers wonder at the meeting of East and West, amazed at the myriad associations which draw them closer to the *Stone*, and its 'secret message' 其中味.

They delight at the discovery of fundamental analogies between two cultures, they are fascinated by the novelties they encounter, which are unique yet also partly familiar. The whole conjures up a vision of a unity which transcends linguistic boundaries in space and time.

Notes:

1. Hawkes, David. "Xiren guankui *Honglouloumeng*" 西人管窺紅樓夢. *Honglouloumeng Xuekan* 紅樓夢學刊 vol.1 (1980), pp.111-128.
2. Hawkes gave a lecture in French at the Institut des Hautes Etudes Chinoises on the 21st March 1963, which was published in *Mélanges de Sinologie offerts à M. Paul Demiéville* (Paris, 1974). The lecture was translated into English as "The Story of the Stone: A Symbolist Novel" by Angharad Pimpaneau published in *Classical, Modern and Humane: Essays in Chinese Literature*. (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1989, pp. 57-68)
3. Based on the interview by Connie Chan Oi Sum in Oxford in December 1998, which is recorded in her M.Phil. Thesis, *The Story of the Stone's Journey to the West: A Study in Chinese-English Translation History*. Hong Kong Polytechnic University, 2001.
4. Hawkes, David. "The supernatural in Chinese poetry". In *Classical, Modern and Humane: Essays in Chinese Literature*. Edited by John Minford and Siu-kit Wong. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1989, pp. 43-56.
5. Minford, John. "'Pieces of Eight': Reflections on Translating *The Story of the Stone*." In *Translating Chinese Literature*. Edited by Eugene Chen Eoyang and Lin Yao-fu. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995, pp.178-203.
6. Shakespeare, William. *Romeo and Juliet*. Edited by James Gibson. (The Macmillan Shakespeare). Suffolk: Macmillan Education, 1974, p.173.
7. Cao Xueqin 曹雪芹. *Qianlong Jiaxu Zhiyanzhai chongping Shitouji* 乾隆甲戌脂硯齋重評石頭記. Tianjin: Tianjin guji, 2013, p.5.
8. Shakespeare, William (op. cit. note 6 above), p.177.
9. Wordsworth, William. *William Wordsworth: selected poems*. Edited by Stephen Gill. (Penguin Classics). London: Penguin Books, 2004, p. 164.
10. Wu Shih-Ch'ang (Shichang) op. cit. (Chapter 3, note 1)
11. Lust, John, comp. *Index Sinicus: A Catalogue of Articles Relating to China in Periodicals and Other Collective Publications 1920-1955* 外文期刊有關中國論文索引. Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons Limited, 1964, pp.432-3.

This 660-page volume, compiled by a librarian of The School of Oriental and African Studies in 1964, covers published western language articles and papers on China from the period 1920 to 1955. It was meant to cover the gap between Cordier's *Bibliotheca Sinica* which goes up to 1924 and the School of Oriental and African Studies monthly list of periodical articles on the Far East and South East Asia which starts in 1956. Also, it complements Dr. T. L. Yuan's *China in Western Literature*, a bibliography which covers only monographs between 1922 and 1957.

Index Sinicus covers humanities and social sciences. It largely follows the classification scheme in Dr. T.L. Yuan's *China in Western Literature*. A total of around 20,000 entries are categorized under twenty-seven main sections. It has indices both for authors and subjects, e.g. persons, works, and places, etc. mentioned in the articles.

12. Cao Xueqin 曹雪芹 and Gao E 高鶚. *Kōrōmu*. Translated by Itō Sōhei 伊藤漱平.
Tōkyō : Heibonsha, 1967. (In *Chūgoku koten bungaku taikei* 中國古典文學大系 vols.
44-46) (CASGLIAD-1222/1-3)
13. Liu Yiqing 劉義慶. *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語. Beijing: Beijing yanshan, 1995, p.56.
14. Liu Shicong 劉士聰, ed. *Honglou yiping : Hongloumeng fanyi yanjiu lunwenji* 紅樓譯
評：紅樓夢翻譯研究論文集. Tianjin : Nankai daxue, 2004, pp.5-8.
15. Chan Oi Sum, Connie (op. cit. note 3 above)
16. Cao Xueqin 曹雪芹 and Gao E 高鶚. *The Story of the Stone*. Translated by David
Hawkes and John Minford. Collated by Fan Shengyu. Shanghai: Shanghai waiyu
jiaoyu, 2012. 5 vols. Chinese English bilingual ed.
17. Fan Shengyu 范聖宇. "The translator as scholar and editor: on preparing a new
Chinese text for the bilingual *The Story of the Stone*." In *Style, Wit and Word-play:
Essays in Translation Studies in Memory of David Hawkes*. Edited by Tao Tao Liu,
Laurence K.P. Wong and Chan Sin-Wai. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars
Publishing, 2012. pp.141.
18. Fan Shengyu 范聖宇 and John Minford, op. cit. (Chapter 3, note 2), p. 385.
19. Chan Oi sum, Connie (op. cit. note 3 above)

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Cao Xueqin 曹雪芹 and Gao E 高鶚. *Kōrōmu*. Translated by Itō Sōhei 伊藤漱平. Tōkyō : Heibonsha, 1967. (In *Chūgoku koten bungaku taikei* 中國古典文學大系 vols. 44-46) (CASGLIAD-1222/1-3)

Cao Xueqin 曹雪芹 and Gao E 高鶚. *Le rêve dans le pavillon rouge*. Trans. Li Tche-houa, Jacqueline Alezais and Andre D'Hormon. Paris: Gallimard, 1981. (CASGLIAD-1225/1-2)

Cao Xueqin 曹雪芹 and Gao E 高鶚. *Qianlong chaoben bainianhui Honglouloumeng gao* 乾隆抄本百廿回紅樓夢稿. Beijing: Renmin wenxue, 2010. 3 vols. (CASGLIAD-1160/1-12)

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(Online at <http://hdl.handle.net/10722/10502> accessed 8 March 2019)

Cao Xueqin 曹雪芹 and Gao E 高鶚. *The Story of the Stone*. Translated by David Hawkes and John Minford. Collated by Fan Shengyu. Shanghai: Shanghai waiyu jiaoyu, 2012. 5 vols. Chinese English bilingual ed.

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